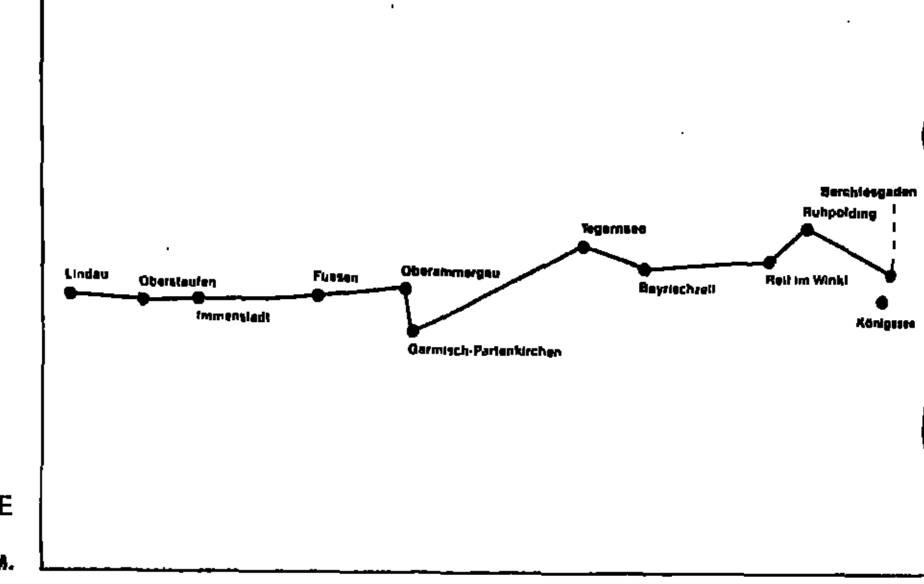
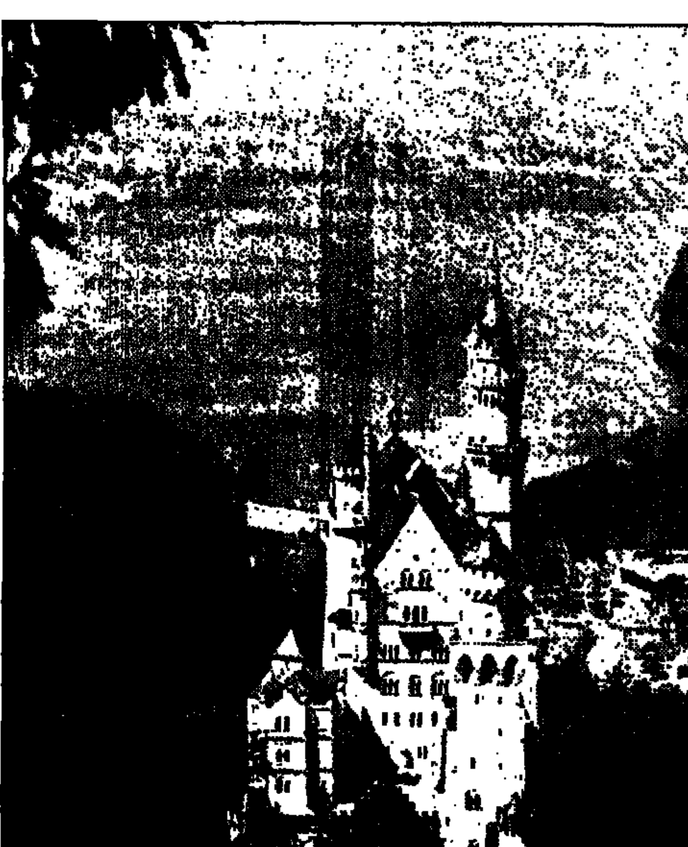














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Trade and technology top Gandhi agenda in Bonn

General-Anzeiger

The first official visit to Bonn by India's Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, is expected to give fresh impetus to relations between the two countries.

Gandhi was invited to Germany by *Chancellor Helmut Kohl.*

His mother and predecessor in office, Inira Gandhi, visited Bonn in 1971.

Although India's significance as the leading member of the group of non-aligned states and as a trading partner to Germany has increased since then, top-level bilateral political dialogue has taken a long time to materialise.

During his trip to Asia in April 1986 Chancellor Kohl paid a two-day visit to *New Delhi*

This, together with the fact that Germany held its so far biggest exhibition of technology, the Technogerma, in New Delhi in March underlines India's importance as a major trading partner.

During the New Delhi fair it became clear that both countries would like sustained dialogue to lead to even closer cooperation.

Bonn Economics Minister Martin *Bangemann, confirmed at the fair that India* is an interesting and popular partner for cooperation.

The Minister for Economic Cooperation, Hans Klein, who also visited India for the exhibition, said that the exhibition marked the start of a second phase of German-Indian cooperation.

During his talks with Indian politicians he also pointed out the desire of the Bonn government and of German industry to *enter into* an even greater economic partnership with India.

Cooperation between the two countries has existed for more than three decades in many *fields*, including development policy.

So far India has received financial assistance from the Bonn government amounting to roughly DM11bn.

Many development projects, such as the steelworks complex in Rourkela in the federal state of Orissa, the Technical Institute *IIT in Madras, and the brown coal* power plant in Neyveli, 200 kilometres south of Madras, have resulted from German-Indian cooperation.

The Rourkela complex, which once ranked as the most modern steelworks in the whole of Asia, is now — over thirty years after it was built — obsolete. Modernisation would cost almost DM2bn.

The funding of the modernisation of this steelworks may play a part during *Rajiv* Gandhi's talks in Bonn.

German industry hopes that India's new economic policy will give a boost to German-Indian trade.

The growing liberalisation of India's foreign trade policy together with the size and expansion of the Indian domestic market have led to an increasing number of joint ventures during recent years.

Germany is now India's second most important partner for industrial cooperation (behind the USA).

Over 2,000 cooperation agreements were drawn up between the two countries since 1957, 950 of which are still operative.

The most important investment motive for German firms in India is to establish a long-term foothold on a relatively compact *market with considerable growth potential.*

The German-Indian balance of trade, however, is in need of redress.

In 1987 India imported goods worth DM3.2bn from Germany, but was only able to export goods to the Federal Republic of Germany worth DM1.6bn

Although India is the third most important market in Asia (behind Japan and China) for German exports the growing *deficit in trade with Germany is causing* growing concern for the Indian government.

Rajiv Gandhi's talks in Bonn are also likely to deal with this subject in greater detail.

During his visit to India in 1986 Chancellor Kohl agreed in a joint declaration to intensify scientific and technological cooperation.

Up to now, cooperation in this field has concentrated on a series of joint experiments in space research.

A further key area of cooperation is the energy sector.

The entire energy spectrum, ranging from nuclear and fossile sources of energy to the renewable variety, are included in *order to meet India's growing demand for* energy.

In the field of nuclear power research activities focus on research into reactor safety.

Cooperation is also to be stepped up in the field of biotechnology.

"The first joint projects have already begun on environmental research and environmental technology, microelectronics and medical research.

In India's opinion, it has the third big-

Continued on page 3

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's first stop in Germany was Stuttgart where he was welcomed by the State Premier, Lothar Späth (right). The HQ of the Indo-German Society is in Stuttgart. (Photo: dpa)

One of the toughest jobs in the democratic world

As Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi probably faces one of the world's toughest tasks.

Nowhere does the government of a country which is run on democratic principles similar to our own demand the application of so much courage and *skill as in India.*

Many races and religions almost permanently jeopardise the unity of the state.

The regular reports of violent conflict between the various ethnic groups only represent macabre culminations.

The tremendous social problems represent the greatest challenge to any Indian Prime Minister.

The fact that the subcontinent is one of the most industrially and technologically advanced regions in the world in certain sectors highlights this aspect even more.

A serious natural catastrophe forced Gandhi to postpone his original plans to visit Bonn last August. This, too, fits in with the overall picture.

Mr Gandhi has been trying to get to grips with the situation since he moved into the goverment palace in New Delhi after his mother was murdered three and a half years ago.

At the beginning of 1985 his Congress Party won a clear election victory. Right from the start there was no lack of conflict. The most abrasive were the continuing Sikh rebellion in the north and the only superficially resolved Tamil problem in the south.

In economic and foreign policy, the Prime Minister and his team of technocrats deserve praise.

Gandhi has not only single-mindedly continued his country's economic liberalisation, which was hesitantly introduced by his mother at the beginning of the eighties, but has ambitiously intensified the process.

The strategy of exposing India's industry, which had been shielded for *many decades, to international competition* was a risk which paid off.

The growing inflow of urgently needed modern technology indicates the growing interest of industrialised nations in India as a rapidly expanding market.

The Technogerma exhibition in New Delhi in March, the biggest-ever German industrial exhibition abroad, reflects this.

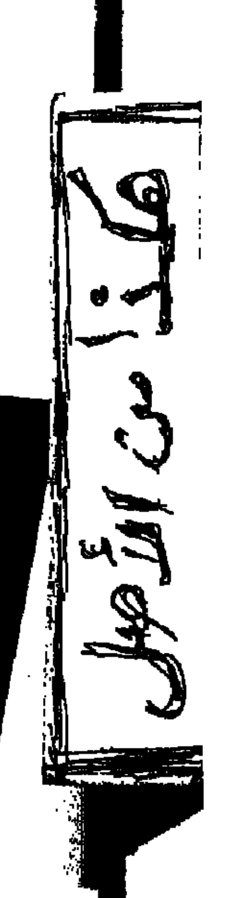
India's improved image was also *made possible by an adjustment of the* foreign policy course in a country which cooperates closely with Moscow.

The fact that the USA, which is often reputed to have an exaggerated fear of the misuse of its technology abroad, recently exported a supercomputer to India and thus eased tight export controls. This shows the success of this policy.

Mr Gandhi, therefore, not only comes to Bonn as a potential recipient. *As the representative of a country* which is developing fast he has plenty to offer industrialised countries.

Ewald Stein
(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 6 June 1988)

IN THIS ISSUE



■ WORLD AFFAIRS

The path towards cooperation is the only one open to Europe

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Five thousand journalists turn up in Moscow for the Summit — and saw nothing that had much substance.

Yet the week before when something of real significance really did happen — in Hungary — most of the correspondents who were on the spot were in any case those already assigned to Budapest.

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachov had wanted to reach agreement on — and announce — a 50 per cent cut in intercontinental missiles. They failed, but met anyhow because both needed the Summit to improve their respective images at home.

In Hungary, on the other hand, a shift in power was taking place which is almost unparalleled in the Communist world.

The grand old man of Hungarian Communism, Janos Kadar, and over half of the members of the Politburo were forced to resign.

Reformers are now at the helm in Budapest and the move has European significance.

It is an encouraging signal to Warsaw, a warning to Prague and East Berlin, and a reminder to Western Europe to keep a wary eye on the eastern part of the continent.

The changes which now seem likely there are marked by considerable uncertainties.

Of course, the relationship between the leading powers of the two military alliances is still of decisive importance for Europe.

Ten years ago, at a time when Moscow and Washington were on bad terms, this fact disrupted the continuation of detente in Europe.

A spell was broken when Reagan and Gorbachov met for the first time at the end of 1985.

Following their agreement last autumn on the elimination of all medium-range missiles progress again seemed possible in Europe.

The superpowers lay down the overall framework, but Europeans can shape its content. Providing, of course, they can find the strength to do so.

A look back at the past few years underlines this fact.

Whereas almost half a cold war broke out between the Americans and the Russians after Afghanistan the relationship between East and West Europeans remained fair to middling. It was only seriously damaged for the first time by the imposition of martial law in Poland, a European event.

Politicians in both East and West deserve the credit for the fact that the achievements of detente remained intact.

East Berlin leader Erich Honecker gained great respect in the Federal Republic of Germany by sticking to his *Westpolitik* despite pressure from Moscow to move in a different direction.

In the meantime the East is showing a growing interest in the West.

Poland has resumed the policies traditionally pursued with regard to Europe, policies it dropped for some time because of internal weakness. Czechoslovakia is following suit, albeit very cautiously.

All East Bloc economies need cooperation with the industrialised countries in Western Europe.

What is more, the small East Bloc countries discernibly have more freedom of movement in their *Ostpolitik* since Gorbachov came to power.

As for the West Europeans it's more a case of being willing but not able.

A dialogue during an East-West conference in Berlin gives an idea of how both sides feel about the East-West border.

A man from Bonn complained that Gorbachov's "European House" is a concept without content; a man from Warsaw replied that it is precisely this which gives the concept a good chance of success: if Gorbachov had an exact building plan, he said, it would be much more difficult to help design the architecture of a Europe of the future!

The difference in the general approach has existed for many years.

Almost all the initiatives to develop a European policy for the continent as a whole came from the East.

The West Europeans initially sat back and asked sceptical questions before reacting — if they reacted at all.

The West Europeans always had more room to manoeuvre than the East Europeans, but rarely made full use of it.

If the names of Gorbachov's negotiating partners were Churchill, de Gaulle and Brandt instead of Thatcher, Mitterrand and Kohl there would be a different situation in Europe.

There are still fears, especially in Bonn, that close and long-term cooperation with the Soviet Union means moving away from the United States and that Moscow has this in mind when it talks of cooperation and a "European House".

e Gaulle provided evidence to the contrary 20 years ago. Unmoved by Washington's objections he forged links "from the Atlantic to the Urals" — with the result that President Johnson followed his example and declared that the restoration of an entire Europe was America's objective.

The West Europeans can influence their major allies via action and not just persuasion.

Above all, agreement could be reached on a division of labour. Disarmament in Europe should by no means be left up to the big powers alone; other countries, in particular those directly affected, should be given a say in the alliance as well as in negotiations between the alliances.

The Soviet Union and the United States, however, should have the final say. Security cannot be safeguarded through military means alone. A fundamental change in the relationship between East and West cannot be achieved solely via disarmament.

The INF treaty, which scraps all medium-range missiles — the bone of contention during the past decade — was the key to everything else.

Both sides had such a narrow-minded fixation on military aspects that a military agreement was needed to enable renewed political progress.

Political moves must now be made, and the Europeans have a field in which they can make them with lasting success.

For some time to come peace will continue to be guaranteed between the superpowers via nuclear deterrence; in Europe, on the other hand, it can also be based on cooperation.

A network of commitments and ties can be established in Europe to create interdependence.

A situation which Western Europe has already achieved could serve as a model. No single land, even if it wanted to, is in a position today to invade another, since all countries have such close economic and technological ties.

Yet it seems unlikely that such a situation can be created for Europe as a whole, since a continent such as the Soviet Union would not let itself be tied down economically.

In Eastern Europe's case, however, which has reached rockbottom economically, interests and constraints can be developed to make restraint expedient.

Western Europe should try to make itself unassailable by making itself indispensable.

Although this would not make defence superfluous, it would make it easier to disarm more readily.

Security via cooperation is the means via which the small and medium-sized countries Europe can contribute towards stability and peace.

Only the big powers will be able to take the really big steps for many years to come, even though all nations can step up cooperation.

Cooperation does not demand drastic decisions but resolute and purposeful attention to detail. It promises reliable but not speedy results.

Genuine change takes place by singlemindedly creating faits accomplis.

Above all, the path to cooperation is only open to Europe.

Nowhere else in the world has technology, economic development and environmental pollution reached such a level in such a confined area as to be able to necessitate peace.

It would be absurd if Europe were to miss this opportunity.

Peter Bender

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 5 June 1988)

No one can pay for both guns and butter

Although the amount of measurable success at the Moscow Summit was small, the fourth meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachov may make history — never mind how paradoxical that might seem.

It could some day rank as the point of departure for a new era, a turning-point from confrontative to cooperative coexistence.

For four decades, international politics was overshadowed by the cold war.

The Soviet Union safeguarded its own approaches by splitting Europe down the middle and rigorously putting the screws on its own half.

This brought the United States into the arena and prompted the inception of the Nato alliance.

The division of the continent found its most despicable expression in the Berlin Wall and the death-trap inner-German border. Although the screws have been loosened, contacts extended and trade increased, there is still a long way to go before a normal state of unimpeded cooperation is reached.

At the same time the two superpowers were vying bitterly outside Europe for new allies, geographical advantages and greater influence.

As the European front was entrenched in the status quo they tried to gain the upper hand in regions where developments were still in a state of flux — America in Indochina during the sixties, and Russia in Angola, Mozambique, the Horn of Africa and, finally, Afghanistan a decade later.

The rivalry in these areas always influenced the relationship between the superpowers in Europe.

The cold war was only temporarily interrupted by phases of detente: after Stalin's death in 1953, following the Cuba Crisis in 1962, and during the detente years between 1969 and 1973.

In each case the thaw soon gave way to a renewed period of frost.

And through it all the arms race continued, spurred on by the "hawks" on both sides. It cost a fortune and gave no-one greater security.

Efforts were repeatedly made to put an end to the rivalry and the arms race, reduce deeply-rooted prejudices and enable a transition from confrontation to cooperation.

To no avail, since the superpowers were rarely willing to talk to each other at the same time.

At a time when greater cooperation seemed possible in the wake of America's withdrawal from Vietnam it was Leonid Brezhnev who ruined existing chances via his expansionistic policies.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was clearly one of the factors which took President Reagan into the White House — an anti-Communist ideologue, who viewed the Soviet Union first and foremost as the evil empire.

Reagan began to pursue more *Realpolitik* but he could not find the right person to talk with.

It was not until Gorbachov came to power that the link between Moscow and Washington was re-established.

Summit meetings in Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington and Moscow mark the stops along the way towards a new relationship between East and West.

Improvement has become possible due to the realisation by both sides that no-one today can afford both guns and butter.

The military budgets are impoverishing entire nations.

Excessive investments in the arms-

Continued on page 3

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■ THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Idea of just one embassy to represent The Twelve is still a distant dream

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The major political issues in the European Community are setting up: a common market, a monetary union, and a central bank.

The Community is preparing for a single market with over 320 million consumers by 1992.

The sluggish adoption of the corresponding guidelines by the Council of Ministers indicates what a difficult goal this is.

The discussion about a common monetary zone reveals differences of opinion over the future shape of the Community.

While outlining the programme of the German Community presidency to the European Parliament in Strasbourg at the beginning of January, Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher also described a common European foreign policy as a major objective along the path to greater unification.

He emphasised that the initial steps towards attaining this objective within the context of European political cooperation must be consolidated.

He stressed that European Union would remain an incomplete idea without extensive cooperation in security and defence

He referred to the Single European Act, which he hoped would also provide fresh impetus to unification in the foreign policy.

In this Act, which came into force on 1 July last year, Community countries promised to work towards a common European foreign policy.

They made a commitment to consult in an effort to aling views and thus have a more effective voice.

They announced their willingness to intensify coordination on political and economic aspects of security policy.

This approach is not universally welcomed: Ireland, for example, said its neutrality had to be taken into account. Genscher's remarks were based on the realisation that Europe must take joint foreign policy action if it intends gaining a greater international hearing — even if this means losing a certain degree of national sovereignty.

Community members have often tried to speak with a single voice at international conferences and in the United Nations.

Their joint declarations on conflicts and crises on which they hoped to exert an influence — South Africa, the Horn of Africa, Afghanistan, the Middle East conflict or international terrorism — were usually agreed on beforehand within the context of European political cooperation (EPC).

Via this machinery of foreign policy cooperation the Community of Twelve opted for a procedure which differs from the usual institutions and decision-making processes in the Community.

The advocates of foreign policy coordination during the Community's early years were also against delegating national foreign policy responsibilities to the European Commission or the Council of Ministers.

The fear of muddling up joint activities within the framework of European political cooperation and activities within the framework of the European Community often produced some strange results.

In September 1973, for example, the Community foreign ministers met for EPC talks in Copenhagen in the morning and then all flew to Brussels for talks in the European Community's Council of Ministers in the afternoon.

Even though EPC did not become a Community institution it has frequently proved its practical worth.

During European political cooperation issues are decided on the basis of consensus, whereas as a rule they are put to the vote in the Council of Ministers.

The Single European Act has now moved EPC closer to Community activities without terminating the duality.

The Act demands that the Community's external policy and the policies agreed on within the EPC context should be "coherent".

also stipulates that the European Commission should participate "to a full extent" in EPC consultations.

Bearing in mind its own interests the Commission would like to see the two lines of activity — EPC and Community activities — converge some time in the future.

"Coherence" has proved possible on many occasions.

This applies, for example, to relations with the Central American region and the associated San José agreements, to relations to the member states of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (Ascan) or to such a sensitive question as that of the Israeli-occupied territories in West Jordan.

Access to European markets, for which the Community has responsibility as part of its assigned competence for foreign trade policy, is traditionally accompanied by a weighing up of foreign policy interests.

The agreement with the Gulf Cooperation Council scheduled for June is also the result of joint efforts by the European Community and EPC.

If the European Community decided to back sanctions against South Africa the decision would be taken within the framework of European political cooperation, but any sanctionary measures (for example, in the steel policy field) would have to be imposed by the Community.

It is emphasised in Brussels and in Community capitals that this mixed approach leads to parallelisms but not to conflicts and rivalry.

The Commission feels like a partner with equal rights. This is often expressed symbolically by certain gestures; for example, during the EPC meetings the representative of the Commission always sits next to the representative of the country holding presidency.

If discussions deal with security policy the Commission representative remains silent.

European political cooperation helps the Commission during crisis management, as in the case of the recurrent trade policy conflicts with the United States.

Consultations between Washington and the "troika" — the incumbent presidency, its predecessor and its successor — replaces an early warning system.

The German presidency has commended the zeal and determination with which the 12 Community member states are promoting concerted foreign policy activities.

This is not just a case of blowing one's own trumpet. The smaller countries in particular are trying to increase their own role in international politics via joint Community activities.

Bonn stresses the frequency of the consultations of the Political Directors — within the framework of the Political Committee — and the "European Correspondents" in the twelve Foreign Affairs Ministries, the coordinators responsible for European policy. This creates familiarity and harmony.

The telex system "Coreu" is an indication of the growing intensity of foreign policy coordination.

The system links the Foreign Affairs Ministries of the 12, the European Commission and the Secretariat in Brussels.

Between 7,000 and 10,000 telex messages are transmitted every year, and the number is increasing.

Although the permanent missions in Brussels are informed about the topics discussed during EPC meetings they are not involved in the actual discussions.

At the beginning of 1987 a European Secretariat for Foreign Policy was set up to help the Community presidency.

The fact that it is located in the Councilof Minisfers building could not be taken for granted.

Some countries, such as Denmark and Ireland, favoured a separate location to emphasise the distinction between the Council and this institution.

In the meantime routine has allayed the fears expressed by sceptics.

Nevertheless, the Secretariat is still seeking its own independent role.

France would like to see the Secretariat become more important within the framework of EPC without assuming an independent external role.

Even though the Secretariat is not the germ cell of a future European External Relations Ministry it has proved its value in Brussels.

The head of the Secretariat, the Italian diplomat Januzzi, is aware of the restricted nature of his task.

Nevertheless, he regards the fact that a helping hand was provided to smaller countries during their presidency of the Community as a success.

Januzzi, who was appointed by the Council of Ministers, is proud of the fact that the Secretariat could function as a symbol of cooperation and the desire for political continuity.

Whereas the chairmanship of the EPC's over twenty work groups changes every six months, the representative of the Secretariat is appointed for two-and-a-half years.

The Secretariat helps out during ministerial meetings and handles correspondence with the European Parliament, in particular with its Political Committee.

Sometimes, the Secretariat is asked to do more. Some presidencies have occasionally asked for special papers stating the Secretariat's position on certain issues.

Januzzi feels that the Commission is a natural ally when it comes to promoting the process of unification.

The Political Director in the Bonn Foreign Office, von Richthofen, above all has activities in non-Community countries in mind when praising the significance of European political cooperation.

In many countries cooperation between the embassies of Community member states has become a matter of routine.

The head of the mission of the country holding presidency regularly meets the foreign minister of the host country, even in the countries of the Warsaw Pact.

As a result the Community is being taken more and more seriously as a partner in its own right.

However, the idea that one embassy could assume the functions for all twelve Community countries in a small country some day is still a distant dream.

The willingness to pool foreign policy activities is not that great yet.

Klaus-Dieter Frankenberger

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 June 1988)

Continued from page 2

race have cost the United States it leading position in the economic and technological fields; military spending in the Soviet Union has taken it deeper and deeper into economic backwardness.

Furthermore, both powers have realised that the endless external involvements cause nothing but trouble. Today's motto is to sort things out.

Although both countries will not stop trying to pull strings in other countries they will be paying greater attention to the problems in their own countries.

Armament and armed forces will no longer be taken [illegible] yardstick for a country's power. This is a chance for the future and cause for optimism.

This time Moscow and Washington have realised *at the same time* that they must make a new start.

Admittedly, Ronald Reagan is an old man, near the end of his final presidential term, and Mikhail Gorbachov a young man, who knows what he wants but is not sure whether he can achieve it.

If they have managed to mark out a route into the future, able to give hope to mankind, it should be possible to turn this into an avenue of cooperation following the forthcoming change in the White House and the overdue consolidation in the Kremlin.

A new epoch would then have really commenced.

Theo Sommer

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 3 June 1988)

Gandhi in Bonn

Continued from page 1

gest pool of highly qualified scientists in the world (ranking only behind the USA and the Soviet Union).

This fact explains why Rajiv Gandhi's government wants to take India into the 21st century with a high technological standard — despite the widespread image of the "Indian poverty".

In 1989 the motto of the international CeBIT forum in Hanover, the exhibition of office, information and telecommunications technology, will be "Business with India".

The idea is to demonstrate that both India and Germany stand to benefit from the combination of scientific endeavour, modern technology, economic interests and personal contacts.

At the political level India and Germany are linked by a common commitment to democracy.

India was one of the first countries — following the western allies — to establish diplomatic relations with Germany in 1951.

Radhesyam Purohit

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 4 June 1988)

ETHNIC GERMAN MIGRANTS

Transit centres feel the strain as East Bloc issues more exit visas

There has been a sharp rise in the number of ethnic German migrants arriving from Poland, the Soviet Union, Romania and other East Bloc countries since the beginning of the year.

Transit centres throughout the country are finding it difficult coping and, because the problem seems like getting worse before it gets better, investigations are being made at Bonn Cabinet level to see what should be done.

The number of ethnic Germans seeking residence permits has remained at 34,000 a year since 1968. But this figure was already exceeded — and easily — in the first four months of this year.

Almost 39,000 emigrants had been registered by the end of April. Two thirds were from the former German areas of Upper Silesia and the southern (now Polish) part of East Prussia.

The number of emigrants from the Soviet Union has also increased since changes in regulations in 1986 — the migrants to benefit are from the Ukraine, Lithuania and other areas with many ethnic Germans.

Roughly 5,000 Germans a year had received a exit permits since 1968. Last year, this rose to 15,000 and in the first four months of this year, 9,500.

At the traditional Whitsun gathering of the Transylvanian Saxons in Dinkelsbühl, state secretary Carl-Dieter Spranger (CSU) said the Bonn government expects between 150,000 and 160,000 ethnic-German emigrants from all sources this year.

The drastic increase is mainly due to the sharp rise from Poland — already more than doubled in 1987 compared to the average for many years.

Up until April this year there were already half as many emigrants from Poland as in the whole of 1981, a year when the internal crisis in Poland and with it the exodus of emigrants peaked for the first time.

These figures only cover "compatriots" who are officially recognised as Germans — in accordance with Article 116 of the West German constitution, the various nationality laws, and a decision by the Federal Administrative Court in 1961 — either because they or their parents did not turn down the compulsory German nationality decreed by Hitler between 1938 and 1945 or because they lived as German refugees in former German territories in the East.

According to the Bonn Interior Ministry, at least a further 35,000 Poles who are not ethnic Germans make their way to the Federal Republic each year, using their tourist visas to stay in the West for good — either illegally or as officially recognised applicants for political asylum.

In addition, Bonn is convinced that each year about 67,000 more Poles have their six-month tourist visa extended for three months in order to work illegally in Germany and take a few more D-marks back to Poland.

Correspondents report that up to 1,000 visa applications are currently being handled every day in the German embassy in Warsaw.

The reception camps for ethnic German emigrants have long since been overcrowded.



Since autumn last year not even the registration and reception centres in Nuremberg and Friedland have been able to process the applications by ethnic Germans to stay in the Federal Republic without long waiting periods.

In Baden-Württemberg, traditionally well catered for with 10,800 places in transit hostels, about 3,000 emigrants are have to live in hotels and inns because the 40 available hostels are overcrowded.

Other *Länder* have erected containers, in which families of five often have to herd together in a single room.

Despite a lack of money the Bonn government has more than doubled its staff in Nuremberg and at the transit camp at Unna-Massen.

The Bonn Interior Ministry is not surprised. In spring this year the refugee authorities in the *Länder* already discussed ways of coping with the problem.

Baden-Württemberg Premier Lothar Späth (CDU) outlined what the *Länder* would like to see done during a Conference of *Land* Premiers in Bonn, in particular with regard to accommodation in low-cost flats subsidised by the state or local authorities.

Up until 1980 the Federal Government had plans for special programmes for emigrants within the framework of the government housing promotion scheme, but then dropped the idea.

In a cabinet meeting last month, Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann (CSU) and his CSU colleague, Bonn Housing Minister Oscar Schneider made a renewed attempt to top up federal funds for low-cost government-subsidised housing, which had been reduced to DM450m in the previous year.

Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg (CDU), however, is hesitant and points towards empty federal coffers.

The biggest problem is not whether the emigrants will find employment.

Experience in Baden-Württemberg has shown that most have a job after six months. The fact that they are not too choosey helps.

The financial costs for the *Länder* and the municipalities, which are obliged to admit the emigrants by the terms of the constitution, are low.

Most either receive dole (from the Federal Labour Office) or pension money; only 20 per cent rely on social security money.

The major problem is the lack of housing, especially in those areas where most want to live because of family ties.

As many ethnic Germans are the descendants of Swabian emigrants, a disproportionately high number move to the rich southern regions of the Federal Republic.

According to the Baden-Württemberg Interior Ministry in Stuttgart 20 per cent of all emigrants live in Baden-Württemberg, even though this *Land* has only 15.2 per cent of the West German population.

Carl-Dieter Spranger called the influx of emigrants during recent months "a major challenge to us all."

He said that the government in Bonn, the *Länder*, the municipalities, religious groups, charitable organisations, and the exile associations must join forces to meet it.

After all, he emphasised, the emigrants are those Germans "who have suffered more than us all from the consequences of the second world war."

Spranger added that many of them even have inhibitions to speak German in their countries of origin after years of "rigorous assimilation policies."

Spranger complained that the ethnic German emigrants are repeatedly mistaken for foreigners.

Jörg Bischoff

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 26 May 1988)

Returning to a home they've never seen

Men, women and children converge on Moscow airport. They are from Kazakhstan and Kirgizia and are bound for the land of their forefathers.

More than 10,000 Volga Germans were allowed to leave for the Federal Republic of Germany last year. This year there will be even more.

Flight No. 1391, a Lufthansa Airbus, is half an hour late. It is Friday evening and a bored crowd waits at Gate 1 of Sheremetyevo International Airport.

Upstairs, on the balcony, two high-ranking executives, members of the German-Soviet economic affairs commission, take it easy after their conferences, drinking beer from cardboard beakers.

Company representatives discuss technological know-how down below in the waiting-room, sitting on artificial leather seats.

A delegation led by SPD chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel goes yet again over the results of the previous day's political talks with CPSU leader Mikhail Gorbachov.

There is also the sound of babies crying.

Between the pinstriped suits and the TV cameras extended families sit or stand and wait, inquisitive but clearly feeling out of place.

They range from babies to grandmothers and from strong young men to wizened older ones. They are ethnic Germans en route to the Federal Republic of Germany, an unknown country they have longed for years to see for themselves.

An old woman with heavily bandaged legs is awkwardly lifted onto a chair. It is clear from the expression on her face that she is in serious pain.

Two men aged about 50 sit next to them, wearing flat caps and buttoned-down farmers' shirts without ties.

The women next to them sit with their hands folded in their laps, occasionally adjusting their dark headscarves.

Young women with an obvious look of embarrassment try to pacify their crying babies with brown breadcrusts.

A few teenagers have their guitars with them, packed in hand-sewn material, yellow with a red floral pattern, repeated on the headscarves worn by several younger women.

They all sit or stand quietly, saying not a word as they wait.

Once the Lufthansa jet is airborne, half an hour late but at full cruising altitude and speed, drinks are served, seat belts are unfastened and the imperceptible tension eases.

SPD Bundestag MP Karsten Voigt exchanges a few words with a young couple with a child sitting in front of him.

Embarrassed, with diverted, floorward gaze, the couple apologetically explain: "We haven't slept for three nights."

They come from Kirgizia and speak antiquated German, Swabian dialect with a Russian accent. It is the language they have preserved for 200 melting-pot years.

After registering at a reception camp they plan to stay with relatives near Frankfurt. By a stroke of luck Herr Voigt represents their constituency in the Bonn Bundestag, so he promises to lend a helping hand.

"Are we over Germany yet?" asks a man of about 30 in the queue waiting to use the toilet. He has worked out that the plane should cross the border after about two hours at 10,600 metres, and he doesn't want to miss a moment he has long looked forward to. Others, exhausted, are already fast asleep.

Hans Koschnick, ex-mayor of Bremen, surveys the scene and says: "The old folk will have a very hard time of it; I have no worries where the younger ones are concerned."

In long years of local government he has found them to be both physically strong and willing to set to with a will.

Reception camp officials agree that ethnic German new arrivals are keen to do all they can but know that they aren't always popular with people in the Federal Republic of Germany.

"Some people are far from happy when others arrive, turn up their shirtsleeves and work hard."

During the three-hour flight from Moscow to Frankfurt they are most reluctant to ask a question that unquestionably worries them: how they will be viewed and received by their fellow-Germans in the Federal Republic.

Their staying-power and their determination to leave the Soviet Union are based on a sense of nationality their families have upheld for seven generations outside Germany, a sentiment many in the new "old" country may find hard to understand.

An older man who speaks much better German than his son quotes from a German magazine article a fellow-traveller recently arrived in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Catherine the Great, who invited the Swabians to settle in Russia, promised them they would be allowed to return to Germany. Her promise has been honoured over 200 years later.

At a rough estimate several thousand ethnic Germans are still keen to leave the Soviet Union. Some have been on the waiting-list for years.

They bring to mind the family that sought the assistance of this newspaper's Moscow office.

"We are writing to you as Germans," they wrote. "Do all you can. We will be grateful to you for the rest of our lives."

Klaus J. Schwehn

(Die Welt, Bonn, 24 May 1988)

PERSPECTIVE

Diplomacy hits at Berlin's trade potential

Visits by Premiers of individual German *Länder* to East Bloc countries put West Berlin at an disadvantage, the Fifth German Policy Forum was told.

Peter Bender, a journalist, said the mayor of Berlin could not travel so freely without first solving diplomatic problems.

As a result, Berlin was pushed to one side in efforts to develop trade with the East Bloc.

The Forum, held in Bonn by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, dealt with the Future of Berlin in the Common House of Europe.

The highest-ranking member of the audience, Willy Brandt, hon. president of the SPD and a former Governing Mayor of Berlin, left visibly satisfied with the legal analyses and new ideas on improving Berlin's situation he had heard.

Dieter Schröder of the Free University of Berlin, said Berlin, in terms of its legal status, retained vestiges of a regulatory principle that had held good in 1945.

On the periphery of European subsystems it had, however, emerged as one of the most open cities in both the West and the East.

Yet the two parts of the city remained closely linked with their respective German state.

Professor Schröder made a fairly sober appraisal of the repercussions a European peace treaty as envisaged in various quarters might have on the city.

West of the Wall. Diplomats from many countries seeing for themselves the German-German border in all its glory. (Photo: dpa)

He concluded from his academic studies that the Federal Republic would continue to be at least "controlled" by the Allies even after the occupation status was officially over.

A peace treaty would change the status of the Four Powers formally but not, or not to the same extent, materially. It would, moreover, be an "insignificant event."

James Dobbins of the US embassy in Bonn referred to recent German history in his appraisal of the city's prospects, especially in connection with the US. British and French Berlin initiative and the specific proposals made by President Reagan.

For him the Berlin airlift, which began 40 years ago in June, was a significant starting point of both Western commitments in Berlin and, by the same token, of German ties with the West.

The Soviet Union had hoped the blockade might strike at the West's most vulnerable point; in reality it had come up against its strongest point.

The Kremlin had taken 20 years to learn its lesson and show willing to negotiate on the Four-Power Berlin Agreement signed in 1971.

Dobbins agreed with Professor Schröder in seeing a "period of new movement and fresh possibilities for Berlin" that lay ahead.

The task facing the Protecting Powers was to negotiate with their Eastern counterpart and improve the city's position, while the Federal government must stand up for the interests of the western part of the city in international relations.

Last but not least, the Berlin Senate must negotiate in every context as a *Land*, or Federal state.

This threefold endeavour naturally entailed running risks, but it also presented a challenge.

Dobbins noted more than once that the United States would energetically take up this challenge. "We cannot stay on as mercenaries," he said at one stage, "we are all working for the day when Berlin no longer needs Protecting Powers."

The true aim of President Reagan's proposals had been to establish a link between this protective role and political dynamism.

They had included derestriction of civil aviation, the holding of more conferences in Berlin and the staging of the Olympic Games in the divided city.

Berlin expert and *Westdeutscher Rundfunk* commentator Peter Bender showed great imagination, as one speaker put it, in assembling an entire package of proposals on how the city's location disadvantage could be transformed into an advantage.

Berlin might lie on the outskirts of Germany but it lay, he said, in the heart of Europe. A European policy along Helsinki lines was what was needed.

The individual points of the Reagan Plan were a "great step forward" for the people of Berlin.

There were many sectors in which West Berlin could be of use to the East. Arts activities could, for instance, be extended to include greater coverage of the East. Besides, there were sectors in

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East Bloc turns down chance to see border

It was an invitation they couldn't not refuse: an invitation to visit the fenced and walled border between the two Germanies to see what the division of Germany means.

The invitation was from the Bonn Intra-German Affairs Minister, Dorothee Wilms. Diplomats from all over the world did accept — almost. All East Bloc countries rejected the chance.

The most impressive example of what Frau Wilms wanted to show the foreign visitors is the village of Görsdorf, which formally belonged to the province of Coburg and now lies just across the border.

Instead of a wide and empty strip of land there is only a wall, or "visibility shield" as the East German authorities call it, just like in Berlin.

Chung Sup Shin, South Korea's ambassador in Bonn, was asked whether the walled-up section of the border reminded him of the situation in his own divided country.

"Not really," he said, "everything here is so — peaceful."

He was right. On the other side of border, a country bus could be seen driving between a handful of houses, and children were playing in the hot May sun.

They didn't seem to be bothered by the group standing on the western side of the wall.

The use of the word "peaceful" by the diplomat from Seoul refers, of course, to the fact that people in both parts of Germany are moving closer together step by step, not to the situation of a divided German nation.

Attempts by North and South Korea to reach a better understanding, on the other hand, are bogged down, said the ambassador.

The almost 1,400-kilometre inner-German border is apparently also a matter of concern for the foreign diplomats in the Federal Republic.

The group had the opportunity to fly over the flood retention basin in Schönstadt in a border guard helicopter. In line with an agreement between the two German states this border area can be flooded to prevent floods in Coburg.

Minister Wilms reiterated her call for visitors from East Germany to bring their East marks to the Federal Republic and exchange them there.

She also called upon East Berlin to improve its infrastructure, from its hotels to its souvenir shops, so enable increased tourism from the West and so that East Berlin would have foreign exchange for tourists in the other direction.

Many members of the group were aware of these problems and were keen on hearing more information. The fact-finding mission, it seemed, was a great success.

During a similar visit to Hesse in 1987 it was the Spanish ambassador who suggested the idea to the Ministry.

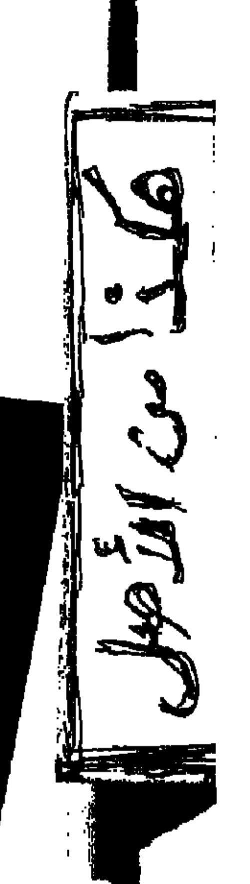
Many people have already expressed their interest in the planned visit to Lübeck in 1989.

Almost all diplomats emphasised that it is difficult to compare the artifical division of Germany with situations in other countries.

Nevertheless, some diplomats did see a parallel to their own countries.

Costa Rica's representative said: "We are a democratic country surrounded by the danger of revolution and dictator-

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■ FINANCE

Head of World Bank hits at policy critics

Criticism that structural-adjustment programmes were sources of increased poverty in the Third World were false and harmful, said the President of the World Bank, Barber Conable, in a talk to German business chiefs. He said the example of Ghana and Mauritius were just two that showed how such programmes could promote growth and alleviate poverty. This report of Conable's speech in Bonn to the standing conference of German chambers of commerce and industry appeared in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

World Bank president Barber Conable called on the industrialised and developed countries to create better conditions for inflation-free economic growth and to counter poverty in the Third World through concerted political initiatives.

Speaking in Bonn to representatives of the standing conference of chambers of commerce and industry (DIHT), he said that the industrialised nations, whose heads of government meet at the world economic summit in Toronto this month, shared a responsibility in achieving this goal.

In Toronto, efforts would be made not just to discuss the problems, but also to reach concrete solutions.

Conable said that, after talks in the Chancellery, he agreed with Chancellor Helmut Kohl that a four-point strategy must be followed up at Toronto to improve international economic guidelines to relieve Third World poverty.

First, the USA must keep reduce its budget and trade deficits. This would remove a major obstacle to continued international economic growth.

Second, Japan and those European Community countries with trade surpluses must stimulate domestic growth; and the American economy must develop long-term economic growth.

Third, the industrial countries must jointly take steps to push forward negotiations in Gatt for the dismantling of trade barriers in all sectors.

Fourth, all forms of financing in developing countries must be activated. developing countries.

In the threshhold nations most financial requirements could be provided by private investors, but in the least developed countries increased assistance from state organisations and multinational operations were indispensible.

In many countries poverty has increased in this decade, Conable said. Timely assistance would be of decisive importance to support those developing countries which have tackled essential economic reforms.

The World Bank was helping these countries to frame and put into operation their reform programmes to accelerate growth rates and alleviate poverty.

What was at stake here was economic, political and social change.

Conable said that poor people could only become "less poor" if they had access to their resources, via their national budget, through credit, through control of capital investment and fundamentally by a greater participation in decision-making that affected their daily lives.

Private organisations, alongside industrial nations and their governments, could play a helpful role in reducing poverty. The World Bank has decided to intensify its cooperation with all non-governmental organisations in coping with this task.

Conable said that he regarded as false and harmful criticisms that the sources of increasing poverty in the Third World were the programmes of structural adjustment imposed on the countries of the Third World.

The examples of Ghana and Mauritius were just two of many that had made clear that adjustment programmes of this sort could promote growth and help alleviate poverty in these countries.

In many countries the redistribution of government expenditure, aimed at more effective economic growth, meant also the redistribution of resources for the benefit of social classes with particularly low incomes.

Nevertheless it should not be forgotten that structural adjustment programmes placed additional burdens on the especially poor.

The redistribution of resources in agriculture hit the poor in the cities the hardest by higher production costs.

The World Bank is working closely with these governments to make bearable for the poor particularly painful adjustment measures, Conable said.

In this connection he emphasised that the World Bank placed considerable weight on environmental protection programmes despite the problems of just living that existed in these countries.

Self-supporting economic growth in developing countries demanded more environmental protection, that could only be implemented by successfully dealing with poverty.

The worst environmental problem in developing countries was a direct consequence of overexploitation of natural resouces by people who lived on the edge of despair.

In his DIHT speech Conable described the Bonn government as "imaginative and generous" in its support of effective, multilateral development aid programmes.

Conable quoted, as examples of this, Federal Republic support for the recapitalisation of the World Bank, the swift ratification of the agreement for the establishment of the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency, Bonn's contributions to support the International Development Association in Washington and Federal Republic aid to heavily-indebted countries in Africa south of the Sahara.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 27 May 1988)

Simmering mood of violent protest awaits IMF meeting

Protest groups want to arrange a talk by the Cuban leader, Fidel Castro, during the meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in Berlin later this year. In spite of claims that the protests will be non-violent, there is evidence that they will be anything but. Stickers appearing on walls give notice that September will be a time for riots in the streets. This article was written by Liselotte Müller for *Mannheimer Morgen*.

If you are thinking of going to Berlin at the end of September, don't. All the best hotels will be booked out and tickets for the opera and Philharmonie will be hard to get.

From 27 to 29 September thousands will be flocking to Berlin to the most important international conference in the post-war period; the conference of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

It is hoped that the conference will be a major event for Berlin's international public relations image.

The presence of representatives of "Big Money" should be used to get more people interested in investing in Berlin.

Finance senator Gunter Rexrodt said: "We want to show that we are not a small, remote outpost in the East Bloc, just bobbing up and down."

Berlin also wants to show itself off as a suitable venue for international conferences.

Major figures in the international financial world are expected — 11,000 people have said they will be attending. They include 150 finance ministers, many heads of central banks and about 1,000 journalists.

Intensive preparations have been under way for the past year. The conference will cost DM30m, central government, the Bundesbank and Berlin itself are each putting up a third of this sum.

In the new exhibition halls directly next to ICC, where the conference is to take place, 540 fully-furnished offices are being set up. They will include a telephone exchange with over 400 lines and 1,100 extensions.

Critics of the World Bank and IMF claim that both organisations are responsible for the impoverishment of the Third World. They speak of "exploitation" and describe the World Bank and IMF as "debt collectors" for the major banks.

The critics call for "the cautious writing off of all debts" or that creditors should waive interest payments and capital repayments.

These critics who come from the Greens Party, groups from the Third World and refugees, and environmentalists, want to stage an anti-congress in Berlin to which they have invited Third World economists and politicians.

They want to hold a "tribunal," and stage a demonstration and a protest march at which the Cuban leader Fidel Castro will speak.

The World Bank's opponents declare they will act non-violently. But there are indications that violent elements have been attracted into their wake.

The slogan "B-Day is coming," the B standing for Berlin, has appeared on house walls in the city. Stickers announce that there is to be "a fighting festival in September."

It is feared that the violent elements that went into action in Frankfurt protesting at the construction of a new runway and at Wackersdorf about the nuclear reprocessing plant, will be targeting their activities on Berlin in September.

For this reason security precautions are being applied as if it were a political summit. Interior senator Wilhelm Kewenig has already announced that he will not fight shy of stopping underground traffic to the Kreuzberg district of Berlin, as was done during President Reagan's visit to the city.

Police from other *Länder* will also be brought into Berlin and the possibilities of preventing anarchists from entering the city are being examined.

If there should be rioting during the congress quite the opposite will be achieved to what is intended.

Instead of gaining in reputation Berlin's public image will take a battering.

Liselotte Müller

(Mannheimer Morgen, 28 May 1988)

Changes in the emphases of development aid

The European Community's development aid for African states south of the Sahara will be deployed in future to promote changes in the economic structure of these countries.

The EC will work in close cooperation with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The EC's Council of Ministers made this decision prior to the proposed negotiations with the Group of 66 African, Caribbean and Pacific States (ACP) about a fourth Lomé Agreement under the chairmanship of the Federal Republic's Development Aid Minister, Hans Klein.

Denmark, Ireland and several other EC countries have only agreed hesitantly to the new arrangement. The development aid strategy pursued and the conditions applied by the World Bank and the IMF for the countries involved are very controversial.

State secretary Volkmar Kohler from the Development Aid Ministry told journalists that the EC and its member-states are just as important financial backers in Africa as the World Bank, so future cooperation would be progress for the states concerned because of the Community's greater experience in Africa.

He said that the EC would in no way be trailing behind the Washington-based IMF.

Herr Kohler regarded the decision as the third important arrangement for the EC's development aid policy in Africa.

In the 1970s the then EC commissioner for development aid, Claude Cheysson, told representatives of the ACP states that the EC's development aid funds were "your money for your to use."

In 1982 the EC's top priority among the African states was to make them self-supporting in food production.

This policy, supported by France, Britain and the Federal Republic, is now being extended by promoting cross-frontier markets between the African states and the private sector in these states.

According to the Council of Ministers' decision the economic reforms in the African states should be pragmatic and be adjusted to the differing conditions and peculiarities of each country.

Long-term economic growth must be striven for in agreement with governments there by injections of money. Environmental aspects will also be taken into consideration.

The Council of Ministers agreed that a new Lomé Agreement should not be limited to a five-year period of validity as in the past.

The inclusion of Haiti and the Dominican Republic in the ACP states and the new Lomé Agreement were approved in principle.

Erich Hauser

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 1 June 1988)

■ BUSINESS

Daimler-Benz sees countertrade as key to marketing strategy

Countertrade, or barter, is going through something of a revival. It is often run along involved lines with several parties and combinations of tit-for-tat goods and cash sometimes making up the difference. Countertrade is liked by countries with a shortage of foreign currency. The big disadvantage in many cases is lack of quality in some products from some countries. In this story for the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, Klaus Dieter Oehler writes that Daimler-Benz sees countertrade as a way of maintaining sales.

Daimler-Benz is entering more countertrade arrangements in its efforts to export commercial vehicles. But it is not keen to say much about it.

Gerhard Liener, head of finance and supplies at the company's Stuttgart head office, says: "There isn't much to talk about."

There seems to be no immediate risk of a decline in demand for Daimler-Benz trucks. They are selling fast and the Mannheim works has plenty of orders for Mercedes buses.

But world markets are getting tougher, even for Daimler-Benz. So in the long term the company's Stuttgart strategists are banking on barter, offset and countertrade.

There can be no question of trading trucks in return for apples, as some critics overhastily imagined, Herr Liener says.

"But in many countries we no longer have any choice but to accept some degree of countertrade."

This problem is most readily apparent in business with government agencies. Five years ago Daimler were only able to sell the Australian army Unimog jeeps in return for a commitment to buy $50m worth of Australian goods.

"As a rule," he says, "governments insist on countertrade on a basis of one to one, and at times of one to one and a half or even two."

The East Bloc states are veterans at barter trading. All their business is routed via some government department or other.

The East Bloc countries also fulfil another major requirement for business on these terms: they have too little hard currency and few goods they could ordinarily sell on a competitive basis in the West.

Soviet officials have no moral scruples about countertrade arrangements. Neither do officials in East Berlin or Belgrade.

Others, even including Western European governments, are said to have grown keener to negotiate contracts on this basis.

A few years ago the Belgian government had no qualms about offering to buy Unimog jeeps in return for assured exports of Belgian goods worth treble the value of the contract.

Daimler preferred not to do so, but countries that have long been dependent on countertrade, such as China, African and South American states, have now been joined by Western countries such as Canada and Norway.

Unlike their governments, private firms in Western Europe have so far been reluctant to rise to the bait.

"Many European exporters, unlike their Japanese competitors, are defensive about countertrade terms and do all they can to steer clear of them," says Heinrich Binder.

He is the business manager of Metallgesellschaft Services GmbH, Frankfurt, a Metallgesellschaft subsidiary specialising in countertrade.

Daimler-Benz and Metallgesellschaft set up a joint countertrade subsidiary last February.

Daimler-Benz established a subsidiary in the early 1970s that has dealt with barter and offset facilities, "but now we are going on to the offensive," Herr Liener says.

Metallgesellschaft is rated the world's No. 2 in countertrade. The Frankfurt firm mainly deals in raw materials, which are often traded on an offset basis.

For many so-called developing and threshold countries commodities are the only means of payment they can call their own.

If Daimler-Benz weren't prepared to consider countertrade they could forget any idea of doing business with African and South American countries that are up to their eyes in debt to the West.

Lacking the least idea how to sell freighterloads of ore, the Daimler-Benz management has joined forces with Metallgesellschaft, which has this know-how.

"We are only now in a position to talk countertrade terms with the governments of countries of this kind," Herr Liener says.

the past such arrangements have been on a small scale. The warning triangles that are part of the equipment with which Mercedes cars are supplied was manufactured in "some East Bloc country or other."

Screwdrivers or jacks were similarly suitable for exchange; except that a single Daimler truck is worth the equivalent of an entire year's output of screwdrivers.

In recent years the Daimler-Benz subsidiary has done between DM20m and DM200m of business a year. "The volume of countertrade varies substantially," Herr Liener says.

This year he expects countertrade turnover to total DM125m, not including business conducted jointly with Metallgesellschaft. "That," he says, "holds the key to new markets. There is no way of telling what the net benefit will be." But it will be substantial.

At the Daimler-Benz head office mention is made of figures more befitting a group with consolidated turnover totalling tens of billions.

But, as Herr Liener says, "we must wait and see." Daimler-Benz are not alone in not knowing how much business might be done on a countertrade basis.

Nothing but rough estimates are available as to the sum total of business done on a barter basis worldwide. The IMF, for instance, feels only one per cent or so of world import-export business is countertraded.

Gatt experts work on the assumption that the true figure is eight per cent, while a number of independent experts say the bona fide percentage could be as high as forty.

Metallgesellschaft's Heinrich Binder attributes these variations to the difficulty in deciding where cash trading ends and countertrading begins. There are so many different varieties.

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Besides, barter, offset and countertrade are not, as a rule, separately listed in official statistics, especially as the parties to such arrangements are reluctant to go into details.

Herr Binder is convinced that countertrade will increase substantially in the years to come, and not just at Daimler-Benz. Developing countries, he says, are so heavily in debt that they have little leeway for "ordinary" business.

What is more, other countries are increasingly keen, as competition grows tougher in world trade, to promote exports by insisting on imports being offset by exports.

Planned economies will be even keener to rely on countertrade. This point was recently made by Soviet officials in negotiating with German banks a credit line for modernising their consumer goods industry.

Even the Opec countries, who used to be awash with foreign exchange, are showing more interest in barter deals.

Private enterprise is accordingly paying more attention to countertrade as a marketing facility.

"We can now offer to buy something from our business associates in return," says Herr Liener. "That could clinch a contract."

Daimler-Benz are not alone in feeling that this could be the shape of things to come.

Klaus Dieter Oehler

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 21 May 1988)

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which possible East-West cooperation lay fallow.

The Green Week food and agricultural exhibition or the Radio Show were cases in point. The East Bloc was not, as matters stood, represented at either because invitations were extended by the Federal government and the Berlin Senate.

"What," Bender asked, "is more important? The legal viewpoint or strengthening the city?"

Visits to the East Bloc paid by *Land* Premiers indirectly weakened Berlin too. Its Mayor could not travel in this way without first solving diplomatic problems.

As a result Berlin was pushed to one side in competition for investment in and with the East Bloc. Only five per cent of the city's exports are sold to the East.

Bender also envisaged a more intensive exchange of ideas between East and West. Why, he asked, couldn't a Soviet counterpart to the Aspen Institute be set up in East or West Berlin and a free exchange of view on all political issues be held there?

The common line in the debate was that political opportunities for Berlin urgently needed improvement.

In terms of the common European house the strengthening of the city's position called for by all speakers amounted, as one observer put to it, to "removing from the basement to the first floor."

Thomas Wittke

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 19 May 1988)

■ TRANSPORT

Everything to do with getting around

DIE WELT

International representation at trade fairs depends mainly on the fair's location, as shown by an analysis of exhibitors at the IVA '88 transport fair in Hamburg.

About 20 per cent of exhibitors are from abroad. Of them, 87 per cent are from Europe and 13 per cent from overseas.

There is evidently no connection between a country's size and the exhibition space it books.

Belgium was the foreign country with the most stand space in Hamburg, followed by Italy, Britain, France and Austria.

Then came Japan, East Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Finland, the United States, Hungary and Sweden.

The presentation of an extremely wide range of exhibits, from electric locomotives and port models to text and visual aids, reflected the scope the exhibition covered.

It includes political and economic features and intergovernmental and technical aspects.

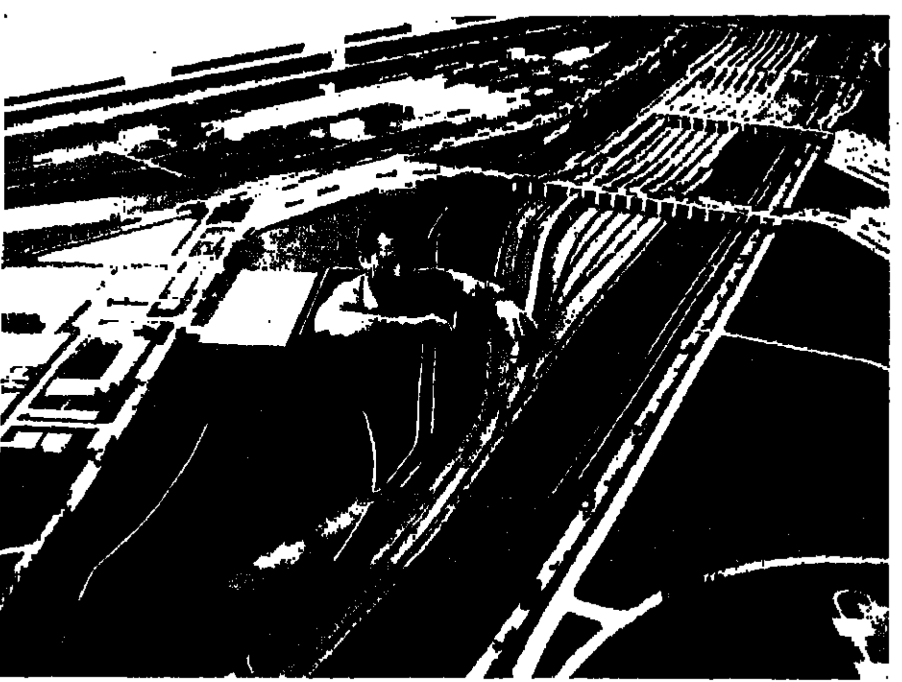
The selection of exhibits will have been partly influenced by the fact that some had already been shown, or were due to be unveiled, at other, specialised trade fairs.

They included, for instance, mechanical engineering fairs, shipping and shipbuilding exhibitions, air and car shows.

About half the foreign countries represented in Hamburg shared national stands at which they featured details of their specific transport situation, their airlines (Air France, Swissair or Alitalia, say) and the interface between domestic and foreign transport systems.

Visitors were also shown a range of medium- and long-term transport plans extending, in some cases, well into the 21st century.

These joint stands are run independently of exhibits by individual companies, groups or associations. This list merely exemplifies the wide range of exhibits; it is not meant to be a value assessment of any kind. Belgium, the largest exhibitor in stand space terms, featured a joint stand, a number of private firms (in, say, computers and communications), the activities of the International Public Transport Association and those of the Belgian Foreign Trade Agency. Italy presented commercial vehicles, traffic control systems, telecom facilities, vehicle identification systems and high-speed rail projects.



One end of the Dover-to-Calais Channel Tunnel rail system in miniature as shown at the Hamburg exhibition. (Photo: dpa)

Japan exhibited cars, four-wheel drive and commercial vehicles.

Britain featured the Port of London, British Rail, container development and overseas trade, plus a model of the Channel Tunnel.

A consortium of 10 British and French firms combining the financing, design, construction and operation of the tunnel plans to link Britain and the Continent by 1993.

The importance of the Channel Tunnel is underlined by the fact that it will facilitate and intensify relations between markets consisting of 57m and 290m people respectively.

In addition to their joint stand the Dutch presented the Port of Rotterdam and new developments in coachbuilding.

Czech companies exhibited models of electric locomotives, goods waggons and trolley buses.

France, as was only to be expected, featured its high-speed rail services, or *trains à grande vitesse*, the second generation of which is to be taken into service next year.

TGV services will then run at 11-per-cent higher speeds and with seating capacity increased by 20 per cent.

The French also presented the Ports of Strasbourg, Paris and Marseilles.

Finland exhibited a car-wash facility for commercial vehicles, while Hungary presented containers and models of cranes.

The East Germans concentrated on electric locomotives and extended-capacity passenger carriages and goods waggons, plus scale models of trucks, ships and a ferry.

Swiss firms featured electronic equipment and systems for public transport, plus two new articulated trucks, notice boards, smaller items and scale models.

Austria presented the high performance of Austrian Rail and a new rail concept incorporating a wide range of structural improvements and high-tech information systems.

Denmark and Sweden presented new noise abatement techniques for use in rail and ship transport, optical cable data transmission and ship's models. A special exhibit featured the Port of Malmo.

Rail, road and water transport predominated, the Hanover air show having been held only a few weeks beforehand.

The Union Internationale des Chemins de Fer (UIC) held its annual general meeting in Hamburg. It represents 63 railways and 20 associated companies, some of which were represented, in their own right or at joint exhibits, at the Hamburg fair.

It was the second time the IVA was held in Hamburg (the first was in 1979). International participation is definitely on the increase.

So this category of trade fair seems likely to be institutionalised in the decades ahead.

Walter M. Lehmann
(Die Welt, Bonn, 31 May 1988)

New breed of car-carrying train planned

Plans are fast taking shape at Deutsche Bundesbahn, the German Federal Railways, for a new generation of combined car and passenger trains.

They will be a far cry from the existing autorail services and will, it is hoped, help to increase the volume of traffic on new high-speed sections of permanent way.

They weren't on show at IVA '88, the Hamburg transport fair; it merely featured the forerunners of the Intercity expresses that are scheduled to run at up to 250kph (150mph) from 1991.

But the days of shunting cars on and off double-decker goods waggons and clambering up and down dirty ladders seem numbered.

The Federal Transport Ministry in Bonn and the Bundesbahn in Frankfurt have commissioned a project survey from the department of railway engineering at the Technical University, Berlin.

Hemjö Klein of the Bundesbahn board first mentioned the idea at the Hamburg Portex fair in May 1985. He said in an interview with *Die Welt* that goods and passenger traffic would be combined by the turn of the century.

He saw no reason why the new railcars could not haul both container bogies and "higher-grade" carriages. The new autorail project is one such idea.

The Berlin boffins plan to make it much easier for motorists to entrain. They will be able to book at short notice and drive on and off with ease.

At the station the motorist drives his car (and passengers) on to a pallet. It is then moved by conveyer belt into an empty box.

Once the car is safely on board the roller door is closed automatically, leaving the motorist and his passengers to head for the restaurant car or upstairs seats with wide-view windows.

They can return to the car at any time during the journey.

It remains to be seen when the first such service will be available. Johann Peter Blank, head of the Bundesbahn central office in Minden, says both the Federal government and the railways are short of cash.

"If the new Intercity express services catch on, we can then set about providing new autorail services." He sees the Hamburg-Munich run, including 330km of new permanent way between Hanover and Würzburg, as ideally suited for day services. As the new trains would link Hamburg and Munich in about five hours there would be no need to travel overnight, with the extra cost of couchettes or sleeping cars. Transport experts say services could run at a profit with 60 cars on board, and the new design makes it easy to drive on and off at stations en route.

(Die Welt, Bonn 28 May 1988)



Park and ride. The Bundesbahn's idea of combining car and rail travel (Photo: ADAC MOTORWELT/KOMDESIGN)

■ AVIATION

Over-crowded skies play havoc with timetables and safety margins

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

If there is a superlative form of the word "chaos", then the world of air transport will discover it this summer.

An increasing number of people are going on holiday and taking an aircraft to get there. But the skies over the country are getting as crowded as the autobahns.

Last year, the number of passengers flown increased by 15 per cent; this year it is expected to be another 15 per cent.

There will be 18 per cent more take-offs and landings in Frankfurt, 17 per cent more in Munich and 15 per cent more in Düsseldorf.

No one foresaw this boom which meant that last year, German airports handled 64 million passengers. Capacity has been reached.

Munich is almost falling apart. Private aircraft and small-plane traffic is being moved elsewhere. Allocations for scheduled and charter flights are being limited.

Until the new airport, Munich II, is ready, air traffic in the city will keep tottering on the edge of chaos.

In the first quarter of this year every second Lufthansa passenger was delayed in take-off or landing. The airline claims that it was only responsible for two per cent of these delays.

Lufthansa boss Heinz Ruhnau has calculated for the Bundestag's traffic committee that his pilots flew 6,000 hours in holding patterns over nine airports in 1987 waiting for landing permission. This piled on extra costs of about DM50m.

Only normal air traffic is possible in Munich, Frankfurt or Düsseldorf in quiet periods.

These periods are getting fewer all the time as more and more people fly off for a few days holiday on a long weekend, at Christmas, Easter or Whitsun. From mid-June the position will become really bad when the school holidays begin.

Transport Minister Jürgen Warnke says: "Air safety is not endangered." Well, he couldn't say much else.

He says the main problems are the the delays in take-offs and delays in the sky when aircraft have to circle and wait to land. But this is exactly the point in the argument about safety being endangered.

A spokesman for the federal agency for air safety in Frankfurt said: "Air traffic has developed so quickly we have not been able to keep up."

Air-traffic controllers are working flat out. They maintain that because air traffic has become so dense "we must put on the brakes." That means more delays for passengers at airports, more queues for the runways and more hold-ups in the air, waiting to land.

The more complicated the snarl-up on the ground and in the air becomes, the more susceptible air safety becomes, obviously.

The consequences of over-loading the system are near-misses in the air and actual collisions on the ground.

If a plane arrives late, it has to filter into the planes circling, for example, over Frankfurt.

This causes a tailback in the holding pattern to a point where Hamburg, for example, has to announce that the next flight plane to Frankfurt cannot leave.

Since pilots and traffic-controllers do not always see eye to eye, air-borne personnel say sometimes that the air-traffic controllers are "being sticklers for security" when things do not turn out as they should.

In fact air-traffic controllers could work strictly according to the book, which would mean keeping everything exactly to the safe distance on the ground and in the air. When things are a bit tight they can be generous, but such generosity plays with passengers' lives.

Only controllers who can juggle neatly with the various speeds, altitudes and distances apart of various types of aircraft can swerve from a literal observance of the regulations.

If there is any kind of a technical breakdown, however, if, for instance, the radar system blacks-out temporarily, and the emergency equipment does not immediately go into operation, it could be too late.

Despite constant replacements Federal Republic air-traffic controllers work to some extent with ancient equipment.

The federal air safety agency is to get DM140m in the next budget for new technology. There is talk of taking on more air-traffic controllers and paying them more.

By 1991 at the latest the personnel situation in air-traffic control will be serious, if it is not so already.

Between now and 1991, half of the present 1,200 air-traffic controllers will be going into retirement. There are not enough qualified people to replace them.

It takes four and a half years to train an air-traffic controller and no-one has been far-sighted enough to think about filling the gaps created by people going into retirement in the 1990s with trained replacements.

Bonn is considering if financial inducements might make air-traffic controllers carry on working a little longer. Pensionable age is 53. By law it is possible to extend service three times, each time for a year.

But this is on a voluntary basis and experience has shown that air-traffic controllers do not voluntarily want to carry on past retirement age in their nerve-wracking job.

Furthermore their status is not particularly attractive. After 52 months of training air-traffic controllers earn DM2,300 net a month, while their colleagues in the air, pilots, earn three or four times that.

If air-traffic controllers' pay were increased it would upset the public-service salary structure.

And it wouldn't do much for air safety, either. Airspace cannot simply be extended by introducing more people and more high technology. Airspace is finite — and it is full.

The airspace over Germany above 7,500 metres is overcrowded with international flights so that domestic flights usually have to fly lower.

But it is crowded there as well; some areas are prohibited for military reasons and this leave domestic air traffic concentrated into narrow corridors.

There is nothing that can be done on the ground either. Munich II will be the last major airport to be built in the Federal Republic and Frankfurt's "West Runway" the last major extension.

Airlines would very much like to use new generation, wide-bodied jets at Düsseldorf, but Düsseldorf's runway is only 3,000 metres long, and a Boeing 747, fully-loaded for a long-distance flight, cannot take-off from it. There are problems in extending Düsseldorf's runway because the airport is in a residential area.

Cologne-Bonn airport is not far away and has a runway 3,800 metres in length, which is no problem for the extended 747s.

But the airlines, primarily charter companies such as Lufttransport Unternehmen (LTU) of Düsseldorf, want to concentrate their wide-bodied aircraft on a few airports, for reasons of economy. Where possible they want to organise everything from a "home base."

The solution to the problem is not in the air. Sooner or later domestic air traffic in the Federal Republic will have to be diverted more and more to rail or to systems such as magneto-hydrodynamic rail travel, paradoxical as that may sound.

For some time Lufthansa has been running station-to-airport train feeder services between Frankfurt and Düsseldorf. The Airport Express is an attractive alternative to domestic connecting flights, particularly as it now also runs between Bonn and Cologne on its way and from Bonn-Cologne airport, which is in the middle.

Transport Minister Warnke sees himself in an "ideologically controversial bottleneck" because he is not allowed to build any new roads, airports or sections of railway.

He assumes, however, that from the mid-1990s more alternative connections could be offered by the extension of German railways' high-speed rail sections.

For the moment he is in conflict with Research Minister Riesenhuber about how far he can include the swift magneto-hydrodynamic rail system in his considerations.

Peter Zudeick
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 29 May 1988)

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ship. "We, too, have to stand up for peace and freedom."

The diplomat from Cyprus, who spoke English, used the German word *Teilung* (division) when describing both the situation in Görsdorf and back home.

In his opinion, the difference begins where the wall ends and two East German border guards could be seen facing two West German guards without saying a word.

The East German guards just took out their binoculars and telephoto cameras.

The Cypriot said: "Back in Cyprus cigarettes and *Playboy* magazines are exchanged on such occasions.

"This here is the very special German *Teilung*".

Sabine Kobes
(Die Welt, Bonn, 28 May 1988)

■ IDEAS

Unremitting contest between physics and philosophy



It is well known that Ernst Albrecht, Prime Minister of Lower Saxony, has a bent for philosophy, and it is thanks to him that Hanover, the state capital, has hosted a philosophical congress.

Its duration and the list of participants have made it a unique event in the Federal Republic.

And if that draws the eyes of an interested public to the state, not well-known as being a cradle of thought, all the better for the Lower Saxony Foundation, which organised the congress and whose president Ernst Albrecht is. The Foundation was established to promote philosophy in the state.

The congress also disproved another view widely held — that politicians can see no further than the next election.

There were two aspects to the congress, entitled "Mind & Nature." Firstly it was a definition of an approach to the world today and its thought; and secondly a search for ways out of the crisis in which mankind unquestionably finds itself.

The congress also examined if Eastern religions could be of use. This unleashed irritation in the run-up to the congress among the two main Christian churches.

The Protestant Central Office for Weltanschauung Questions primarily feared that the congress could be diverted into the channels of the "New Age" movement, this conglomeration of the estoteric and occultism, Asian philosophy and strivings for unity. — and that at Whitsun in the Christian calendar.

There was nothing to suggest this would happen and in view of the make-up of the congress these fears were unfounded from the very beginning.

Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker was its intellectual mentor, and the list of participants included names such as Morris Berman, Hans-Peter Dürr, John Eccles, Manfred Eigen, Roger Garaudy, Max Jammer, Hans Jonas, Cardinal Franz König, Ronald D. Laing, Sir Karl Popper and Ilya Prigogine.

A glance at this list of participants already gives some idea of the direction the congress would take; an unremitting encounter between natural science and the arts, between physics and philosophy.

This philosophy limited more starkly traditional scientific thinking than the penetration of the Eastern body of thought.

The title of the congress, "Mind & Nature," presents a conclusion and a question at one and the same time. Western thought has been convinced that there is a dualism in mind and nature at the latest since Descartes. The question is whether this has led us into a cul-de-sac and whether there is a way out.

It was the generally held conviction in Hanover that we are now in fact almost standing before a wall at the end of a street. The threats of nuclear and ecological catastrophe are proofs of this.

That is just the consequence of thought, that scientists have carried beyond the world, which they are exploring. Naturally this raises questions of scientists' responsibility, which they can only evade to a slight degree.

But at least the Göttingen Nobel Prize Winner Manfred Eigen banned any intrusion into research freedom and Munich psychologist Ernst Pöppel maintained that environmental disturbance was played up by the media.

Physics and philosophy — Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker indicated a bridge that could bind mind and nature together again.

He took for his point of departure the Quantum Theory that shook, in a most lasting manner, the old mechanistic image of the world and the scientific view linked to it.

As a consequence the discovery that it is a question of observation whether an electron appears as a particle or as a wave, that one can indicate neither its location nor its impulse, that a statement about its behaviour cannot be determinist but is only possible at the level of statistical reality and that on top of everything else the observer only intervenes through his observation in the system and so becomes a part of it.

Weizsäcker announced Cartesian mind-nature dualism to be power ideology. "Why should not expansive reality also be able to think, why should thinking not be able to present itself expansively?"

He said that in the Quantum Theory one has the unity striven for, since it denies the finality of all divisions. "Every determinable alternative is connected in truth with every other one."

He went on to say: "The world is not made up of objects; only the limited understanding of man analyses the whole to which he himself belongs, in objects, in order to find his way."

Wiezsäcker had to leave open whether a passable way was demonstrated. He added ironically: "Philosophy is basically too difficult for us."

This could also be said of many of the lectures during the congress. They showed that the experts lacked intellectual discipline.

But on the other hand this gave the pleasure of eavesdropping on speakers who themselves had intellectual discipline.

For instance Max Jammer in his discussion on the question whether Kant's transcendental philosophy got along with the discoveries of modern physics.

The answer was yes and no, but one had to go on arguing despite the fact that the dispute has been raging for 60 years.

Or Hans Jonas who placed mankind in position next to Hegel in the question of responsibility, without being able to share his optimism.

Hegel's world spirit does not come from itself but from the creator, who renounced himself after the completion of creation. He expected mankind to perfect this creation.

These are Western attempts to bring us out of the crisis for which we are ourselves to blame, attempts that are recognised as objective misunderstood premises of man's own thought. As Morris Berman did with the confrontation of scientific concepts.

Every age constructs its own sense of reality. In the Middle Ages philosophers asked about the "why," the principle, modern times asks about the "how," the functioning. The world must function in the interests of capitalism and the world economy. But it is functioning more poorly all the time.

How can one alter the premise then? Berman suggested that it could be achieved by the transition from major structures in the economy and science to small units linked to one another.

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Both jeers and cheers for A-bomb theory

A pessimistic world outlook resulting from the dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan has poisoned the world's intellectual climate, according to Sir Karl Popper of Oxford University.

He was speaking at a philosophical congress in Hanover. He said the atom bomb had been "ideologically" used to paint a horror picture of the world.

This "propaganda" suggests a world that is being ruined by industry's greed and political mismanagement.

Sir Karl, who is 86, added: "That is grotesquely untrue." Many young people had been driven to despair because of it. One result was drug-taking.

"Despite Hitler, Stalin and other irresponsible ideologists," society had been made better and more just — except in developing countries.

His speech was greeted sometimes with boos and cat-calls but also with applause. The discussion which followed was occasionally heated.

Physicist and philosopher Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker said at the end of the seven-day congress that every problem could be solved by applying common sense.

But anyone who had never fallen into despair over mankind's problems did not know what he was talking about.

Commenting on Sir Karl's speech, von Weizsäcker said some understandably rejected his ideas but no-one could doubt Sir Karl's moral integrity.

The congress, organised by the Lower Saxon Foundation, aimed at analysing the tension between philosophy and natural science, between Eastern and Western thought.

dpa

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 28 May 1988)

Heidegger and the Nazis: debate rages on

"Opinion against opinion" is the title of a series of discussions organised by the Düsseldorf ASG Educational Forum.

This time the controversial theme of "Heidegger, National Socialism and Revolutionary Conservatism. Heidegger's political thought and his philosophy," attracted to Düsseldorf such well-known Martin Heidegger experts as Walter Biemel, Otto Pöggeler, Rainer Marten and Victor Farias.

Farias comes from Chile and is teaching in Berlin. He has written a book about Heidegger's Nazi past which unleashed a hectic Heidegger debate firstly in France, then in Germany and Italy.

There was dispute about the fact that the undoubtedly greatest and most influential thinker of this century had betrayed his intellect to the anti-intellectual movement.

This opened up prospects of proving an internal link between National Socialism and Heidegger's philosophy.

What in France led to a brilliant attempt at interpretation, by Derrida and Lavinas, has given the academic world in the Federal Republic food for thought but it has not sunk to the depths of bargaining with the facts.

In retrospect one could call the battle of quotations, that took place in Düsseldorf to the amusement of the public, "Anecdote against anecdote," or "Memories against memories," despite the seriousness of the theme.

Farias repeated the three central points of his dossier on Heidegger, which bunches together the research work of Guido Schneeberger and Hugo Ott.

1. Martin Heidegger's thought is deeply stamped with anti-semitism; 2. He was a convinced National Socialist up to 1945; 3. It is impossible to separate his political involvement from his philosophy.

Farias, who was not taken seriously as a philosopher by the other disputants, could not make good the philosophical basis of this last point.

A dossier of more nasty and the nastiest accusations is not sufficient to come to the conclusion that the political lapses of a thinker imply lapses in his thought.

The Heidegger scholar Derrida penetratingly analysed Heidegger's intellectual concepts in his book *L'esprit* and confirmed the great distance that lay between Heidegger and National Socialism.

Biologism and racism cannot fundamentally be recognised in Heidegger's existential ontology, even if Farias believes he has been able to unmask the Nazi philosopher decisively.

Pöggeler and Biemel both criticised Farias' book for technical failings and even falsification of details.

Farias tried to counter their attacks with the multi-purpose weapon of morality, and returned again and again to Heidegger's conviction that only Germans and Greeks were competent to speak adequately of "being."

That is a deep injury to human dignity, a racialism of thought that is not very far from the thinking that made Auschwitz possible.

Marten amplified his criticism of Pöggeler by saying that Auschwitz in fact points to the necessity of a philosophical ethic that Heidegger never conceived.

Pöggeler pointed out, as an exoneration of Heidegger, that Heidegger met Paul Celan after the war, who was a Jew.

Heidegger's thought refers radically to man's "self-being." It devises a negative social ontology, which man must understand as a critic of mass society.

At this point the emotional proximity to anti-modern National Socialism can be found, and the label "revolutionary conservatism" in the title of this discussion points to this and related directions.

This heuristic sign was however blocked by the know-all attitude of a discussion, in which the fact that Heidegger had given the Nazi salute in Freiburg was maliciously countered with Adnorno's Nazi poems.

Heimo Schwilk

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 6 May 1988)

■ THE THEATRE

No such thing as a crisis at children's festival

Thirty five drama groups from 20 countries took part in the 3rd International Children and Youth Theatre Festival in Munich. Among the sponsors were the Cuban government, the Russian government, a department store, the Dresdner Bank and the Protestant and Catholic churches. The bank provided DM3,000 for prizes which were awarded to the Toneelwerkgroep Wederzijds, from Amsterdam; Teatro dell' Angelo, from Turin; and Teatro O'Bando, from Lisbon. The appealing feature was the absence of any idea of crisis in the theatre. The children's willingness to experiment was the surprising element of the festival. Jan Bielicki gives his impressions for the Munich daily, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

Everyone talked about the weather. When "Schau Spiele '88" began at the Marienplatz in Munich the sun was warm and the sky was blue.

Clowns were leaping about among the trees in the Elisabethplatz, a boisterous singer was warbling away in the tent and in the sun someone was improvising a sketch. It was a real celebration.

But then the weather changed for the 3rd International Children's and Youth Festival. The sky over the city was grey. It was rainy and bitter cold.

Anyone who wanted to cheer himself up for the youth theatre froze in the rain in front of the theatre doors still closed ten minutes after the scheduled time for the performance to begin.

It was a long way to the other Festival venues, scattered about the city.

Audience and children's theatre performers came together to perform, but "Schau Spiele '88" was only artistically exciting in its second, cold half.

The most heart-warming performance in the Festival took place out of doors, of all places, in the damp, open Englischer Garten.

It was pitch-dark when the spectators stumbled through the bushes, everyone carrying a torch. The light beams played over twigs, branches and leaves and landed suddenly on flashing figures with long, hooked noses, who were veiled in dark scarfs.

There was no room for doubt: demons were haunting the Englischer Garten.

Two men stood in the glow of a fire on the banks of a lake wearing rustling cloaks. Then between the fire and the beams of the torches there emerged out of the darkness a pile of cupboards and earth.

This was the mountain of the demons around which, in gruesome, archaic scenes the legend of the maiden Milena was played out. *Montedemo* is a story of birth and death, superstition and sheer foolishness.

It was a small theatrical miracle that Joao Brites produced with his Teatro O'Bando from Lisbon. With just a few simple stage props, with earth, wood and fire, he changed the lavish nature of the damp green space in the Englischer Garten into a magic forest.

Such sparkling theatre magic blew open the narrow confines of the concept of "children's" or "youth" theatre. It astonished everyone, children, adolescents and adults.

Audiences were aware and could observe often at "Schau Spiele '88" that youth theatre in Europe is no longer happy with its role of appealing to its limited audience of young people.

There were many attempts to discover new, dramatic idioms appealing to everyone, but always based on time-honoured theatrical tradition; the play tells a story, paints images and makes jokes.

Many groups called upon the services of adult theatre so as to open up youth theatre. The Théâtre des Jeunes Années from Lyon played Samuel Beckett, the Spielkischte from Basle performed Eugène Ionesco, the Orionteatern from Stockholm put on Anton Chekhov.

But only the Swedes created powerful, original images on stage — perhaps because they did not put on a Chekhov comedy but produced a free adaptation of one of his stories.

Four actors, playing against a rustic landscape created from wooden palettes and carpets, between candle-light and a samovar, turned *Rotschilds Geige* into a musical fairy-tale.

After a period when youth theatre seemed as if it wanted to produce social comment it now seems that it has returned to stirring magic, to old fairy-tales, old legends, simple stories.

It was great fun when the Teatro delle Briciole from Parma invited the audience into the middle of its miniature city, when the rats scurried about in this tiny Hamelin, when human heads appeared on all the battlements, between the dolls in all the corners and window bays, and the story of the Pied Piper of Hamelin was told allegro furioso.

Such simple stories function on the stage. There were two men on a roof, Robinson and Crusoe. They fought, argued, they scuffled about all over the lonely island that just loomed out of a flooded area. The scenery sky was beautifully coloured, blue and sometimes orange.



Dramatic idioms appealing to everyone: Dog Troep, a Dutch group, at the Munich festival. (Photo: Franz Wimmer)

Then suddenly the two men began to talk, the one in Italian, French and English, the other in what sounded like an Oriental language.

They could not make themselves understood — and yet they did understand one another.

The Teatro dell' Angelo from Turin performed the gestures of mourning and anger, of joy and friendship with caution, humour, almost tenderly. A story can be as simple as that and as magical.

The theatre of the magical, the players and clowns dominated the youth theatre that turned up at Munich. They pranced about merrily. The clowns juggled, forwards, backwards, high up, low down. They did cart wheels and fooled about.

The Théâtre du Bilboquet from Brussels and the Dane Hans Ronne put on mad clown numbers and Kuppel + Jaspersen from Bremen a scatty pantomime, loaded with meaning. They all brought traditional circus elements into their youth theatre.

What was astonishing and amazing was the fresh approach the groups brought to time-honoured theatrical traditions.

For instance the spectacle of the Japanese group Tamakko-za. The traditional taiko drum boomed, resounded, sometimes clearly, sometimes muffled. The drummers produced complicated rhythms.

The drummers, girls, handled the heavy drum-sticks with a light hand. They skipped about their instruments in energetic dance movements, forming with their instruments time and time again stirring images to be seen and heard.

"Schau Spiele '88" was dominated by entertainment-oriented theatre. That was the case in Europe at least.

In the Third World, Africa and South America, where there is quite a different, elementary approach to theatre, the concept of *théâtre* as being educational is still clung to resolutely.

In the industrialised countries, on the other hand, it seems that youth theatre has said adieu to the idea of wanting to educate its public — or has set out quite openly to deal with the real problems of a young public.

This is a good thing. The group Rote Grütze from Berlin put on a witty didactic piece about violence against women, and Unga Klara, the children's theatre ensemble from Stockholm's municipal theatre, put on a psychological drama about children whose parents are getting divorced — regally performed and probably done in a rich language (but that is hard to tell because it was performed in Swedish).

And naturally *A thousand Cranes*, a melodrama by the ITP - Mark Taper Forum from Los Angeles had a message.

The piece tells of a girl from Hiroshima who dies of leukaemia, the delayed effects of the bomb. An American boy is worried about the bomb, until he sees that he can do something about it.

He paints peace pictures, writes to presidents. But perhaps the moral comes from a fairy-tale? From the American dream?

The Toneelwerkgroep Wederzijds from Amsterdam, that presented a workshop in Munich of many playlets, had no message. They needed so little; just lighting and a place to perform.

They used only three paper walls, colours, costumes and stuffed, toy animals. Painters painted the paper, an actor tried on the costumes and used the props and changed them.

These Dutch players showed the minimum required for the magic of the theatre. The magical word is — play. The big names could do well to learn that.

Jan Bielicki

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 24 May 1988)

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Cultural diversity, then, so as to find many truths with many questions? A practicable way?

Many might doubt that. But this way is more certain than adapting Asian patterns of though which, were they taken up, would alter our society beyond all recognition.

Certainly Asia has never known Cartesian dualism — it has never been developed through Asian tradition or by Asian science in our understanding of that word.

Agehanda Bharati (despite his Indian name he was born in Vienna) showed that in India there was no conceptual difference between "mind" and "matter."

The ultimate truth is nothing according to Buddhist thought and that knowledge was not understood as being cognitive, that truth should help us from the eternal cycle of re-birth.

Hajime Nakamura from Tokyo emphasised that nature meant the absolute for Chinese Taoists and this in turn the recognition of every form of the world as truth. Consequently the world must not be changed — and not be exploited.

This is certainly worthy of consideration. The West will have to learn this under the sign of a world emerging from our endangered planet.

The world must be grateful for the possibility of learning. But ultimately, it was observed in Hanover, the Western world has to help itself by its own means.

Ancient Asian cultures are today more markedly stamped with Western thought imports than their own traditions. How could it be otherwise if they want to fulfill an economic development programme in the face of an ever faster-growing population?

To learn means also to learn from oneself. We must leave behind the idea that today is an absolute.

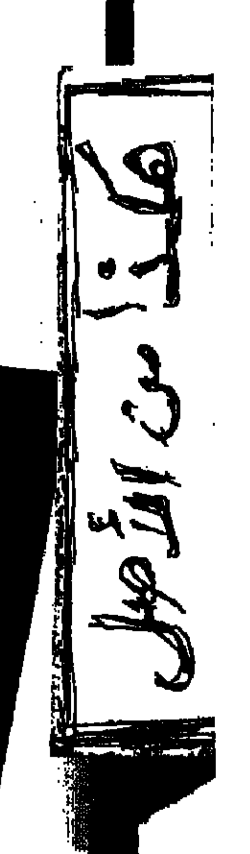
Our own existence is understood as a special case in history. There was a time before and alongside Descartes when dualism appeared to be extremely strange.

In the morning hours before the beginning of each congress day Asian medition took place, but it was also recalled in this that once in the Christian world there was a form of contemplation in which one had the chance of immersing onself in oneself and in God.

If the congress made us more aware of ourselves and the opportunities of our culture, by comparions with other people and ideas, it achieved a great deal.

Ekkehard Böhm

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 27 May 1988)



■ EDUCATION

Degree by mail-order at Germany's only correspondence university

Hagen doesn't seem like a university town. Most of its 75 professors and 34,000 students live somewhere else. Pupils take correspondence courses. Many don't even want to graduate. They just want to learn more. This is the only university without a campus in Germany.

Professor Ulrich Battis is vice-chancellor, Martina Meister a student at Hagen University. If she, or any of the 34,000 students, wants to see him or her professor she must either travel or use a video cassette.

She lives in Munich, 580km (360 miles) south of Hagen, and studies in the kitchen of her apartment.

Munich is a university town too, of course, but conventional undergraduate life is ruled out because she has two small sons.

Her husband keeps an eye on the children in the evening and at the weekend, so she can work her way through the course material she is mailed once a fortnight (it includes video cassettes for some courses).

She plans to graduate in economics from her kitchen table by 1992 and may go on to write a PhD thesis.

Professor Battis lives in an attractive detached house in Hagen that is only a stone's throw from the concrete block that houses the university's computer and the mailing department, the focal point of a campus without students.

Course material and marked papers are mailed to students mainly in the Federal Republic of Germany, but Hagen has students as far afield as Australia.

Nearly 5,000 big buff envelopes a day are mailed, 650,181 in the course of the 1987 academic year.

"We mail so much printed paper," Professor Battis says, "that we and not Mainz deserve to be called the Johannes Gutenberg University."

At Hagen head sorting office a staff of 60 do nothing but handle mail to and from the university. Apart from them hardly anyone in Hagen would know it was a university town.

Professor Battis is hon. pres. of the local soccer club and a fan of tossing the caber, which is a Westphalian sporting speciality.

Every summer he invites 800 local dignitaries to a garden party at Villa Bechem, but most of the 75 professors live elsewhere, and there are no students either.

A university without a campus and with nothing but extra-mural students is be nothing unusual worldwide, but Hagen is the only one of its kind in Germany.

It was inaugurated in April 1975 by Johannes Rau, then Science and Research Minister, now Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia.

He asked the first vice-chancellor, Otto Peters, if he could congratulate some of the first student intake and was shown a couple of young people with whom he shook hands, wishing them all the best.

Little did he know that they weren't students at all, merely young members of the university staff who doubled as students — because the idea of a university without them somehow didn't seem to make sense.

Hagen was the last of a crop of "comprehensive universities" set up in North Rhine-Westphalia in the 1960s and 1970s, the pressure of young people keen to study at university having triggered a debate on correspondence courses.

It is still often seen in Germany as a late brainchild of Social Democratic education policy, but in reality it reflects an international trend.

Hagen corresponds to the Open University in Britain and to similar correspondence course facilities in the United States, the Soviet Union and the Third World.

Academic education is steadily evolving worldwide into an adult and further education system.

No-one in the Federal Republic was opposed in principle to the idea of correspondence courses, but conservative education policymakers envisaged extra-mural courses at existing universities.

This proved too expensive and impracticable, so North Rhine-Westphalia grasped the initiative and set up a correspondence course university of its own.

Its declared aim was to provide at greater speed and less expense the largest possible number of extra university places, to make a contribution toward the reform of university studies and to break new ground in further education.

What has become of these targets 14 years later (Hagen was endowed in 1974)?

Shortage of funds soon nipped in the bud plans to expand and open up further faculties, while existing faculties had to struggle for a share of what was left.

Hagen has yet to offer degree courses in law, which is a subject ideally suited for the media and methods of correspondence courses.

Closure of a conventional university college in Hagen has been a windfall, with the transfer of 45 new members of staff, including six professors.

They have given the departments of electronics and information science a great boost, says Professor Battis, who does not see himself as a gravedigger or a legacy-hunter.

He is delighted to have benefited from the influx of extra staff. He also



welcomes the new buildings taken over from the college that closed down.

As for the reform of university studies Hagen sees its contribution as the carefully thought-out range of course material on offer, a range from which students can pick and choose to suit their specific career requirements.

A business studies graduate who is interested in the export trade can study international maritime law, foreign exchange, international fiscal problems, transport law and the like.

If he is interested in personnel management he may study public law, manufacturing law and psychology. These are useful and pertinent combinations.

But can they be classified as a reform of university studies? Professor Battis takes a more level-heade view than his predecessor, Professor Peters.

"There has been less of a reform of university studies here than anywhere else," he says. Where Hagen has succeeded has been in offering university courses for a larger number of students than expected and in enabling people who might not otherwise have studied to take up a university education.

There is no need to provide facilities for people geographically remote from the nearest university, as in the Soviet Union. If anything, the opposite is the case.

Hagen students and graduates are to be found in Frankfurt, Munich, Stuttgart, Hamburg and along the Rhine — in cities and towns that often have a choice of conventional universities.

They are mature students who study after work to get on in their careers.

Ninety per cent of Hagen's 34,000 students work for a living if you include, as Hagen does, mothers with children to bring up.

Eight out of 10 already have a career qualification, and four out of the eight have previous university degrees.

So 40 per cent of Hagen students have university diplomas, degrees, PhDs and even the additional PhD required of prospective university teachers in Germany.

They include economists studying informatics and lawyers, engineers and scientists studying economics. None of them are interested in a further degree; what interests them is further (university) education.

One in four first-year students of informatics in the Federal Republic enrols at Hagen. Most neither need nor want to graduate.

With 75-80 per cent of its students not interested in graduating as such, Hagen can fairly claim to have progressed from a correspondence college to a further education university.

Ideally, every graduate ought to go back to university after a while at work to recharge his batteries, as it were, and to provide practical feedback. Hagen cannot really claim to have succeeded on this score.

It may have many postgraduate students but the courses are too instrumentalised along input-output lines.

Hagen also set out to offer women with children an opportunity of university, yet the university is, if anything, more male-orientated than the rest.

Martina Meister in Munich is not a typical Hagen student. Only 23 per cent are women, as opposed to the national average of 37.9 per cent.

This is arguably due to women being more susceptible than men to the pressure brought to bear by beavering away alone in student isolation.

Professor Battis has no doubt as to what makes Hagen so popular with academic staff, who write course material rather than give lectures.

"They don't have to give eight hours of lectures a week," he says, "and can work undisturbed at home instead.

"Let us be honest and admit that students are the real bane of university life. Here we don't have droves of beginners, just small groups of PhD students, who are much more fun."

Printed course material can be checked by others, which initially led to young academics paying more attention to their academic reputation than to the need to be comprehensible and educationally sound.

One Hagen course in economic mathematics had a 100-per-cent failure rate!

But the correspondence course research centre has monitored the situation, and it has greatly improved.

Half the course material is written by Hagen University staff, the other half by specialists and established authorities at other universities and research facilities.

Hagen course material is so popular that it can be found at other, conventional universities. Academic research at Hagen is also held in high repute.

The university compares well with other, larger and longer-established universities in outside funds raised per member of academic staff, a respectable number of whom have been appointed to posts at other universities.

As yet Hagen makes surprisingly little use of the new media, but that will change in a few years' time. A number of students already link up with the university computer at night (when telephone charges are lower). Computer graphics programs are soon to be included in course material.

Professor Battis plans to make more use of TV too (a prospect many of his staff view with dismay). At present Hagen has a modest fortnightly *Westdeutscher Rundfunk* slot for programmes of its own.

He plans to treble this programme time and share it, in co-productions, with other universities. Use is to be made of Olympus, the Esa educational satellite that is due to be launched next autumn.

Asked whether it might not be simpler to continue mailing video cassettes to students (rather than to plan TV programmes for screening all over Europe), he says:

"What we offer at present does little more than satisfy the natural vanity of our professors, but we are still better than the TV test card."

One deadweight dating back to Hagen's early days is still a heavy burden on students, especially in Bavaria, where 3,658 live (second in number to North Rhine-Westphalia).

It is the problem of studying on your own. "Orals are extremely difficult, not to mention job interviews, when you have been used to beavering away on your own," Martina Meister says.

Part-time tutors now lend a helping hand at over 40 study centres for Hagen University students all over the country. They also encourage the formation of study groups.

A majority of CDU/CSU-ruled *Länder* initially vetoed the establishment of these study centres. They feared the "comprehensive university" might get its foot in the door, as it were.

CDU/CSU *Länder* are strongly opposed to the concept, and Munich refuses to this day to allow Hagen study centres to operate in Bavaria. Three SPD-backed motions in the state assembly have been defeated.

Martina Meister heads the Hagen University Association in Bavaria, set up in 1983 to promote the establishment of study centres in Germany's "Deep South."

Hagen students have supplied DM180,000 in funds to help the Bavarians, and the search is on for a commercial or educational sponsor.

"We can't really manage *without* a study centre," Frau Meister says.

Capital, the business monthly, published a league table of German universities a while ago. Hagen ranked among the best in economics. "I do hope Bavarian firms are aware of the fact," she says.

Evelyn Roll

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 24 May 1988)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Huge carpet of killer seaweed choking sealife as it multiplies out of control

Europe is in the grip of another environmental disaster — this time in the North and Baltic Seas where an enormous carpet of algae (seaweed) up to 10 metres thick is killing everything in its path. The algae are multiplying at a tremendous rate, feeding off massive amounts of man-made toxins from industrial, domestic and rural sources and delivered in sea and air. But scientists have not yet been able to establish the precise connection between the effluent, the algae and the throttling of thousands of square miles of sea. This article was written for the Munich daily, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, by Martin Urban.

People on the North Sea and Baltic coasts can only look on helplessly as seals, fish and marine life die, wiped out by pollution and by killer seaweed in the Baltic approaches and in the German and Danish sectors of the North Sea.

In Norway the disaster is being described as a maritime Chernobyl. A tiny single-cell alga, Chrysochromulina polyepsis, has suddenly begun multiplying at an enormous rate.

The resulting sludge of dead seaweed up to 10 metres thick is choking all life in the sea, from the starfish to the salmon and other edible fish. Seals are also dying by the hundred, especially pregnant females.

This catastrophe has come suddenly but not unexpectedly. Even its exact location, the confluence of the North Sea and the Baltic, is a known black spot.

Nothing is known about the life rhythm of Chrysochromulina polyepsis and no-one known why it is displacing more customary forms of seaweed.

Prince Charles said in his address to the North Sea conference in London last November: "Science teaches us first and foremost that ecology is fraught with uncertainty."

The British government is a great believer in the argument that much more research must be undertaken before action can be envisaged. It is an argument popular with pollution culprits in Germany too.

Prince Charles warned: "While we are waiting for the doctor's diagnosis the patient could die." It could die one of many deaths mankind inflicts on nature.

Man-made toxins do not simply vanish into the air, the soil or the water. But much more detailed information has been brought to light.

Hamburg University oceanologists have proved that pollution sent along large rivers into the North Sea collects and is enriched in the Kattegat and the Skagerrak.

Toxins pumped into the Rhine, the Elbe and the Weser (not to mention British rivers) that find their way into the North Sea clog the Baltic approaches, reaching pollution levels nearly as high as in the river estuaries.

Pollution takes 11 months to travel from the Rhine estuary to the Skagerrak, and the Rhine accounts for over half the toxins disposed of via the rivers.

They are joined by atmospheric toxins precipitated into the North Sea, by untreated sewage, by rainfall and even by pollution from the water table.

The marine eco-system has so far largely succeeded in handling this pollution. It has certainly responded to it. An excess of nutrient, such as phosphates and nitrates from fertiliser, sewage plants and acid rain caused by static and vehicle emission, is eagerly digested by marine micro-organisms.

The more nutrient there is, the more algae thrive on it. The amount of seaweed lining the world's coasts has trebled in the past 10 years.

When it dies, the eco-system provides for its disposal, but only if there is still enough oxygen in the water. Where there isn't, marine life is extinguished.

Anaerobic putrefaction is all that is left, and this seems to be the case wherever Chrysochromulina polyepsis has gained the upper hand.

An unusual increase in the quantity of seaweed (a common name for algae) can regularly be observed all over the world, but especially along the coast. It is the result of overfertilisation

An estimated 20 to 30 per cent of the nutrient spread on fields and meadows by farmers in Schleswig-Holstein flows into the sea, says Kiel ecologist Berndt Heydemann, Schleswig-Holstein's new Environment Minister.

Holidaymakers can be sure to steer a wide berth of beaches piled high with dead seaweed. They can hardly be expected to relish the idea of swimming amid dead seals and fish.

That poses a threat to an industry which in turn makes a substantial contribution toward the destruction of our natural environment, the conventional "development" of which is tantamount to its destruction.

The "stress" to which seals are subjected is not just a matter of toxins they eat and drink. They are also constantly disturbed by people walking round the mud-flats and, above all, by low-flying aircraft.

Jacques Cousteau, the French oceanologist, recently suggested setting up "tourist-free zones" in the Mediterranean. He also proposed charging holidaymakers an eco-tax.

Catastrophes must clearly first happen before an atmosphere is created in which legislation to protect nature from man-made destruction can be enacted

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despite the power wielded by those who benefit from environmental destruction.

Bonn Environment Minister Klaus Töpfer sets great store by this trend. Regardless of international campaigns he has noted that much remains to be done in the Federal Republic.

Legislative provisions exist; all that is needed is for the Federal government to act.

It is a known fact that for years the ground water has been progressively enriched by more and more pesticides. These longlived "plant protectives," as they are euphemistically called, ought to be banned.

What seeps into the ground water will sooner or later find its way into the ocean — just as what is tipped on waste dumps will sooner or later find its way into the ground water.

The Sandoz accident, which caused serious chemical pollution of the Rhine downstream from Basle, merely accelerated the process. The toxins released into the river flowed more or less swiftly and directly to where the latest catastrophe has occurred.

Martin Urban

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 31 May 1988)

Report names four nuclear power stations as unsafe

The four nuclear power stations near Hamburg are not safe, according to a survey by a Darmstadt ecological research institute.

The report, costing DM200,000, was commissioned by the Hamburg Senate. Its findings were presented by the city's Environment Senator, Jörg Kuhbier.

The four are at Stade, Brunsbüttel, Brokdorf and Krümmel. The boiling-water reactors at Krümmel and Brunsbüttel were described as particularly unsafe.

The safety containers housing the nuclear fuel rods are reported to be highly susceptible to leakage from the condensation chamber.

If an accident happened, it would be almost impossible to control. The result could be a meltdown of the nuclear core, with safety containers exploding and the release of enormous amounts of radioactive fallout.

Direct radiation from the fallout mushroom would be unlikely to cause immediate deaths in Hamburg but contaminated particles on the ground could lead to serious radiation damage within days.

In the long term the radiation exposure would be so high that counter-measures would be indispensable in the city.

The area affected could not be declared fit for human habitation again until after extensive and large-scale decontamination.

Fritz Vahrenholt of the Hamburg environmental affairs department estimates the risk of a meltdown at a German nuclear power station to be three per cent by the turn of the century.

Making this estimate in view of the Darmstadt survey, he said its findings had shown that a Chernobyl-style meltdown was possible in the installations inspected.

Two years ago a safety report dealing with the Krümmel and Brunsbüttel reactors prompted Senator Kuhbier to call, in November 1986, for an immediate shutdown of all seven boiling-water reactors in the Federal Republic of Germany.

This demand was rejected by Walter Wallmann, then Federal Environment Minister, and by Uwe Barschel, then Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein, where three of the four reactors are located.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 31 May 1988)

■ SOCIETY

A hot-line and a home for despairing girls with nowhere else to turn

Teenage girls in Munich who are desperate to leave home and don't know where to turn can now contact a state-backed agency in the city.

Initiative Münchner Mädchenarbeit (IMMA) has five social educationalists *on the staff and a telephone hot line* open round the clock.

Girls are offered accommodation at a refuge — and the address is a well-kept secret for outsiders.

One of the workers, Gudrun Keller, who was also one of the project's initiators, *says that girls often ring up and are* unable to bring themselves to say anything: "You can hear someone on the line, but she's not confident enough to speak. She just cannot find the words."

Attempts are made to keep the caller on the line, but many hang up. Frau Keller *says: "We think that many of those* who hang up are not in any immediate difficculty but wants to make sure that the telephone number really is an avenue to help in case one day there really is an emergency." Some days there are as many as 20 calls of this kind.

The address of the home, like homes for battered wives, is a secret. A girl seeking advice can count on total anonymity. She knows unwanted visitors will not turn up.

In this atmosphere, she can tell a qualified worker her problems with the feeling *that she is getting a sympathetic hearing.*

A girl's parents are told that their daughter has been taken in only 24 hours afterwards. They have to give their approval if she is to stay, but they are not given the address. The girl alone decides if she will or will not return home.

There are occasionally some phone calls from irate parents who have heard of IMMA and suppose that their daughters have fled there.

Many of the girls are indeed runaways, 14- and 15-year-olds who are frightened of returning home because *they fear they will be punished.* They feel misunderstood and unloved.

Some girls have run away because they are not allowed to have a boyfriend; others because they haven't been allowed to choose their own careers; and others because they feel that too much is expected *of them. Many have had to endure* scenes; many have been beaten.

These are everyday difficulties that occasionally can be resolved by a face-to-face talk between workers and the mother. What is more alarming is that many girls are unprepared to tolerate *any kind of compromise.*

Frau Keller says: "This refusal often hides the fact that behind the ostensible problems there is probably a case of sexual abuse."

A week after the girls' home was set up all ten places in it were taken up. The girls, *German and foreigners, come from* Munich and its environs. Only girls who themselves seek shelter are taken in. Voluntary action is IMMA's main principle.

The police, for instance, cannot bring anyone to the girls' home just because some other local authority has decided *that a girl should be put in a home or be*cause the homes for battered wives are over-crowded.

The home is partly financed by the city of Munich, so that staying there does not cost anything — one less inhibiting factor for many young girls who *fear that eventually financial demands* for accommodation could be made of their parents and so their dependence on their parents will be increased.

Irmgard Heinkel, one of the social workers, said: "Girls who have been sexually abused for years on end and *are in a state of emotional crisis rarely* call on us." She continued: "More often than not a person such as a doctor, friend, social worker or teacher brings the case to our attention."

These people have for one reason or another realised that the girl is in dis*tress through, for instance, an attempt*ed suicide, a nervous breakdown, injuries, venereal disease or preganey.

When the girl's confidence has been won and she has decided to leave home this is arranged through a social worker and she is accommodated in the home.

*The home is only a provisional solu*tion to a girl's problems, however. A permanent home has to be found for her in consultation with IMMA social workers, either in a boarding school for girls, in company accommodation provided for job trainees or in communal accom*modation where a girl can live, inde*pendent of home or until she has reached her majority or can earn her livelihood.

Social workers admit that it is not the best solution, but it is something. The shelter is the first step to a future "inte*grated" home for girls, where girls can* live together in groups, make firm contacts and where educationalists are on hand to give them support and help them find their way forward.

But this is all a thing of the future in view of the present financial situation.

The five IMMA social workers are supported in their attempts to solve the problems of their charges, solutions that call for a lot of effort and are time-consuming, by voluntary social workers.

IMMA has good relations with official bodies and other organisations.

Girls who are psychologically disturbed or suffering from drug-addiction are referred to appropriate specialist departments.

Girls who have been badly treated or sexually abused can be placed under the *care of a guardian. The Youth Affairs* Office can decide where the girl should reside and take away from the parents partial or total care for the girl.

Charges are also made against parents who have abused their daughters. But every step is made with an eye to *the consequences and with the girl her*self making the decisions.

And what about the parents? They are completely excluded from this decision-making process.

Gudrun Keller defended this one-sided attitude by saying: "From the mo*ment the parents are brought into it, we* are no longer exclusively on the girl's side. The girls can rely on our undivided interest on their behalf."

The Munich home for girls is a pilot project, the only one of its kind in the Federal Republic.

The qualified personnel involved are mainly financed by the Bonn Family Affairs Ministry. The scheme is unlike the one provided by Berlin's "Wildwasser" aid group, which concentrates on sexually-abused girls and women.

IMMA addresses itself to girls who want to get out of a muddled, problem-full situation, who are looking for some way to stand back from everything and who urgently need help.

Gudrun Keller said: "To a considerable extent a girl's interests are lost in the group in existing social institutions. *What is lacking is specialised training* for people who are involved with getting to the root of the problems that involve these girls."

Even if a girl has been sexually abused the professionals do not always know what to do for the best, according to a study produced for Family Affairs Minister Rita Süssmuth.

Sexual violence against children and young girls is a taboo subject at all levels of society, because it is very emotive. People can only be made aware of the problem by being confronted with it.

Independent women's groups like "Wilderwasser," "Notruf" and IMMA have forced people to face up to this problem through their activities.

Grown women have broken their silence and spoken freely of the physical and emotional torture they underwent *in their youth.*

Books for young people have also cautiously tackled this repressed nightmare of being in a state of helplessness. According to figures from the Federal Crime Office 300,000 children suffer in this way annually, and between 80 and *90 per cent of them are girls, abused by* a male close to the family.

The closer the relationship the greater the increase in the number of cases of sexual abuse as regards duration and frequency.

Equally there has been a drop in the *attempts made by victims of abuse* to seek help.

Often the girl's position in society as a female has the effect that she does not defend herself. Girls remain silent, intimidated by threats. They have a feeling of guilt or shame. They remain silent out *of consideration of their mothers and* because they are worried that the family will break up.

The members of the Munich initiative have called for an independent group to help young women who are, or were, exposed to sexual violence.

Furthermore they have organised a further training programme for women who could be confronted with the problem through their jobs.

Only through independent aid groups do many girls learn that they are not alone in their distress.

They learn in the groups, aided by psychologists in the initiative, how *to* deal with the destructive experiences they have had.

Miriam Neubert

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 27 May 1988)

A hostile world for young Turkish women

Elisabeth Minnerup is a social worker in the Ruhr mining centre of Moers, near Essen. Her job is to help girls with what are called "social disadvantages". This is normally a euphemism for unemployment.

Most of the girls she tries to help are Turkish. Eighty per cent of the young people without jobs in Moers are girls and many of them are Turkish.

There are, of course, other problems: Turks in Moers are subject to attack by Neo-Nazis; and Turkish girls are *torn be*tween the traditional up-bringing at home and the desire for an emancipated existence, which they see in German society.

Turkish music can be heard every Thursday afternooon coming from the basement of a Protestant church community building in the Moers district of Repelen. Tantalising food smells come from the kitchen.

Every week between 30 and 50 Turkish girls between 10 and 17 meet in the community building to cook, sew, to *dance Turkish national dances and par*ticipate in other leisure activities.

Frau Minnerup works with Cemile Gekik, a 23-year-old Turkish woman who acts as interpreter and as a contact for many of the Turks who live in this sector of Moers.

Frau Minnerup and Cemile Gekik want to offer Turkish girls something more than just a leisure-time activity. Their programme includes training in household jobs such as cooking and sewing, getting to know about jobs from women from various occupations and visits to instructors as well as generally promoting a sense of self-confidence among young Turkish girls.

Frau Minnerup believes that a girl should *find out for herself what she can* do and make the most of it.

Aysel, a 17-year-old girl, is a good example. She applied for a job as a doctor's assistant, pointing out she could also act as an interpreter for the doctor's Turkish patients. She knew that doctors were *looking for this combination of abilities.*

Frau Minnerup has observed that Turkish girls, urged on when they are still young by the family, have a much more definite idea of what kind of work they want to do than do German girls.

Turkish girls have taken on such unemancipated jobs as being carpenters, quite against their parents' wishes and instructors' advice.

A project designed to counter xenophobia shows just how rough and tough life for young, foreign women can be *and that the group in Moers is not just a* leisure-time activity.

Dismay and intimidation are prevalent because Neo-Nazis in the neighbourhood have beaten up young Turkish boys and shaved a Turkish girl's head bald, smearing "Out with foreigners" *on her skin.*

Despite this Frau Minnerup tells young girls: "Violence is no way to answer violence."

The girls call themselves "The oriental girls' group," and in summer they want to organise an international festival on xenophobia where *contacts and* understanding can be created in place of prejudice and antagonism.

Since last year the Moers Youth Affairs Office has had its own department to advise young girls of all nationalities. Consultation hours are mainly attended by German girls.

Frau Minnerup listens every day to problems about unemployment, school difficulties with the family and increasingly to cases of sexual abuse by family members or friends of the family.

She gives girls who have been abused

Continued on page 15

■ HORIZONS

Police raid school run by the Khomeini of Cologne

Cemaleddin Kaplan, 62, comes from eastern Turkey. He is one of the most influential Islamic fundamentalist leaders in Germany. Last month, a school run by Kaplan adherents was raided by the Cologne police. The 84 children, mostly Turkish, were sent home. Harald Biskup looks at the state of Islamic extremism in Germany for the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger.*

People in the Ruhr centre of Marl were up in arms when they found that it was planned to build a mosque there. At the height of the row, a representative from the Turkish embassy went to the town and explained that if the mosque was not built, it would only strengthen the hand of the fundamentalists.

It is not a rare occurrence for Turkish diplomats to become deeply involved in this issue. Turkey is a secular state and fundamental groups are banned. So instead, they carry on their struggle from Germany.

According to a trade union report on extreme Turkish groups, the attempt to build mosques purely for the purposes of prayer and not for political ends has failed.

A Turkish journalist, Ugur Mumcu, an observer and critic of the fundamentalist scene, says: "Politically oriented religious movements are misusing Germany's freedom of worship rights for political motives."

He speaks of infiltration and subversion.

But Muhammad S. Abdullah, head of the German Islamic Archives, says that just because a movement is banned in Turkey it did not mean to say that it should also be banned in Germany.

Turkey is a member of Nato and wants to join the European Community. That is why authorities in Germany are tolerating moves by Turkish officials in Germany to try and head off the efforts of the fundamentalists by creating attractive alternatives.

The organisation behind the planned mosque for Marl is the Turkish-Islamic United Religious Institute (DITIB), which is none other than the German branch of the highest religious authority in Ankara, the Diyanet.

The Diyanet is the body which alone is responsible for religious development and the training of holy men.

It is reported that workers at the Diyanet centre in Cologne try to disguise the fact that the centre is much like a ministry of the Turkish government.

Often, the centre uses general descriptions to cover the entirety of its activities: the use of "qualified religious servants with pedagogic importance" was a guarantee that the religious faith of Turkish Muslims in Germany would remain free from all types of fanaticism and free "from waylaying influences" to remain on a straight and true path.

There is no doubt that those with a say in Ankara and the branch office in Cologne want to demolish the political-religious threat.

A Turkish teacher said that feelings of insecurity among Turks was constantly increasing.

"Children at school are questioned about which mosque their parents attend. And children who wear a headscarf have the fact noted."

Turkish official in Germany have been reacting extremely sensitively ever since the revolution in Iran unleashed its wave of Islamic fundamentalism. It appears that nowhere are there so many "enemies of the state" at work as in Germany.

There are persistent rumours that some of the DITIB branches (DITIB says there are more than 500 in Germany) have been infiltrated by fundamentalists.

It is one of the remarkable features of the obscure Islamic scene in Germany that Kaplan, the reputed Khomeini of Cologne, whose school was cleared by police, was once an official of Diyanet.

But because of his tirades against the "regime of unbelievers" in Ankara, he was dismissed from his post as Mufti of Adana and travelled to Germany.

There, he was given asylum and began his agitation. And his tone became harder: "Democracy is an ideology of Satan;" and "What are you waiting for? When will you smash the spine of the Godless?"

Kaplan is recognised by the *Verfassungsschutz*, the counter-espionage service, as the head of Turkish fundamentalism in Germany. Kaplan descibes this as "slanderous." The declared aim of Kaplan and his followers is to turn Turkey into a religious state along the lines of Iran.

Kaplan's sobriquet, the Khomeini of Cologne, is not merely an invention thought up by journalists; there are parallels between his aggressive campaign against the "unbelievers" and the underground activities of the Iranians in their days of exile before the Shah was overthrown.

According to Mumcu, Kaplan runs an import-export firm called Kar-Bir which is supported from Teheran "at all levels". But he says that this is still the weakest of all the fundamentalist groups.

Kaplan's organisation, of about 3,000 followers, is officially called Verband Islamischer Vereine und Gemeinden e.V. (the Association of Islamic Clubs and Communities).

It is an offshoot of another organisation called Islamischer Union (the German Islamic Union), which is headed by Necmettin Erbakan. This group also dreams of a Turkey ruled along Iranian-like fundamentalist lines.

But Erbakan's group is not so strident in its call for a holy war against the legacy of Ataturk. Its plan is: first get political power, then let the revolution run.

The split between the two came when Kaplan, a Sunni Muslim, went to visit his Shi'ite idols in Teheran. This turned many of his followers against him and they went back to the parent organisation.

An insider said: "No matter what the situation is today, it could be be overtaken tomorrow."

Erbakan's organisation began appearing with monotonous regularity in *Verfassungschutz* reports. It used to be called Milli Görüs (National Viewpoint), and later became AMGT and then Refah-Partei.

It served as a rallying point for members of the Salvation Party which was banned after the putsch in Turkey in 1980.

Erbakan is a technocrat with a western education. He studied machine-engineering in Aachen and worked as an engineer in Cologne. In the 1970s, he was the kingmaker in divers Muslim coalitions. Today he openly advocates that Turkey should be a theocracy.

He has shown that if any of the faithful in Germany step out of line, he will not hesitate to use the iron heel. Three years ago, he summarily changed the leadership of AMGT on the suspicion that they had come under the influence of the international Muslim brotherhood in Cairo instead of keeping their eye on what was happening in Turkey.

The grey eminence of the Cologne-based movement used to be Erbakan's brother, Akgün, who is now dead. The next-in-line will probably be Mehmed Sabri, the 22-year-old son of Akgün Erbakan and a medical student. He is learning to imitate the gestures and diction of his uncle.

A study by the Frankfurt Institut für Sozialarbeit and Sozialpädagogik reveals the Erbakan group to have made some extraordinary convertion attempts.



Time to smash the backbone of ungodly, says Mr Kaplan. (Photo: dpa)

They approached former Bonn President Karl Carstens and, even more amazingly, the late Catholic Cardinal Höffner. Without success.

There appears to be little lateral linkage between the various organisations. According to the report, which was compiled by Turks, a state of open war existed for about a year between Milli Görüs and another organisation called Verband Islamischer Kulturzentren e.V. (the Association of Islamic Cultural Centres) known by its initials of IKZ. This is the foreign branch of the Süleymanli movement.

IKZ is run on centralist, hierarchical lines. It is the biggest but has also the lowest profile of all the Turkish political-religious organisations in Germany. Outwardly it portrays itself as unpolitical. A policy paper declares that its aims are purely theological and that it has no political objectives. But there are reasons to doubt this.

In September 1987, 11 senior officers of the movement were acquitted by an Ankara court on charges of attempting from Germany to turn Turkey into an Islamic State. Among the acquitted was Mustafa Demirgülle, an architect and the president of the Cologne branch of the movement.

But the acquittal does not mean that the movement has changed it aims. Some years ago it came under heavy criticism for running a highly controversial Koran-teaching course.

And the negative headlines that surrounded the former head, an Imam called Harun Resit Tüyloglu, have not been forgotten. He was responsible for a catechism-like textbook containing quotes that were described as "blood-thirsty".

According to documentation by the Evangelical Press Service (epd), IKZ gets more than moral support from Libya; it has also good connection with the Muslim league and to the Saudi oil company Aramco.

The group are sometimes called "pinstripe Muslims" by its critics because of the way its members like to present themselves as somewhat genteel.

The group is said to maintain connections with an organisation called the Turkish Federation which, in turn, does not deny that it has close ties with a fascist group called the National Movement Party. How long this subgrouping will last is something only Allah himself knows.

The great majority of Turks in Germany take little notice of the activities of all these groups. But they do notice that whenever anything about the Khomeini of Cologne appears in the newspapers, the atmosphere around them becomes a little bit icier.

Harald Biskup

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 12 May 1988)

An Islamic HQ

Cologne has developed into the "secret capital of German Islamism," according to the Zurich paper, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung.*

At least, the most important Turkish-Islamic organisations have their German — and some even their European — headquarters in Cologne.

They are:

- *the German Islamic Union (the* Erbakan movement).
- the Association of Islamic Clubs and Communities (the Kaplan group).
- the Association of Islamic Culture Centres (the Süleymanli movement).
- *the Turkish-Islamic United* Religious Institute (the State-run Diyanet organisation).

They are all registered organisations. Several are banned in Turkey.

Two, the Erbakan and the Kaplan groups, are regarded as right-wing *extremists because of their radical Is*lamic, anti-democratic attitudes.

It is estimated that 20,000 of the 1.6 million Turks in Germany are members of these groups.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 12 May 1988)

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over a long period of time the confidence to overcome their shame and seek protection either from their mothers or some other person in whom they can place their trust.

Frau Minnerup literally represents the girls' interests in school problems. She said she acted on behalf of one girl so vehemently that the school has threatened her with action from a lawyer.

She also has to accept difficulties from parents if she wants to get an improvement in circumstances. There was the example of a 14-year-old girl whose mother drank and did not take care of the household or pay the bills.

Everything fell on the daughter's shoulders, so much so that one day she could bear it no longer and turned to Frau Minnerup.

The girl now lives in community accommodation run by social workers. Elisabeth Minnerup arranged for her to go there.

Gundhild Tillmanns

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 25 May 1988)